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**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
Santa Barbara**

**Collective-Individual Development in a Fifth Grade Bilingual Class:
An Interactional Ethnographic Analysis
of Historicity and Consequentiality**

**A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of**

Doctor in Philosophy

in

Education

by

LeAnn Grogan Putney

Committee in charge:

Professor Judith L. Green, Co-chair

Professor Carol N. Dixon, Co-chair

Professor Richard P. Durán

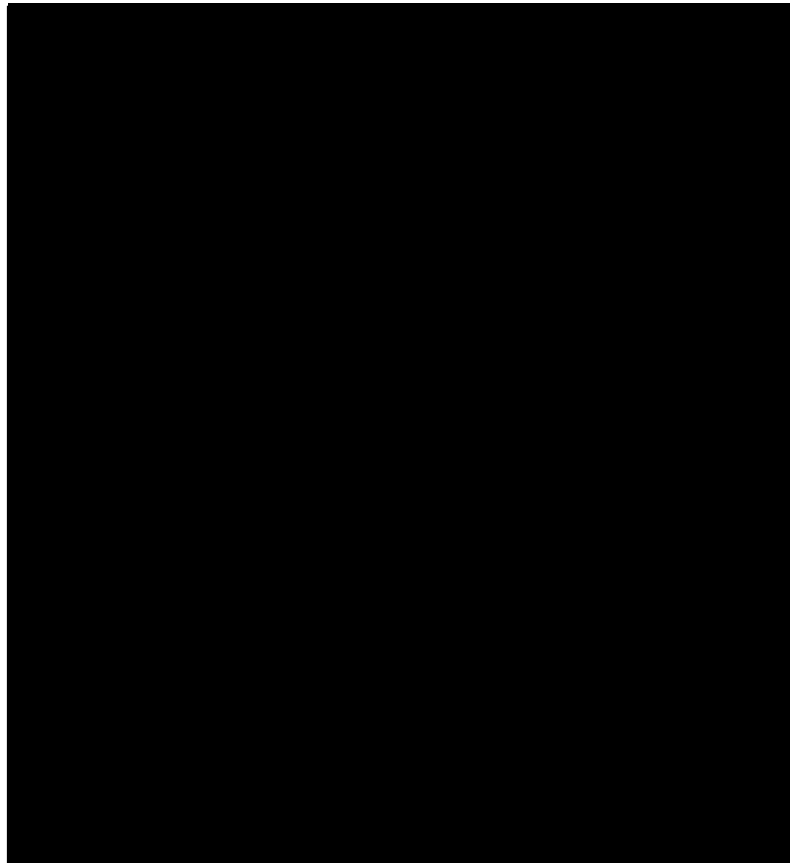
Professor Janet H. Chrispeels

Beth Yeager, M.A.

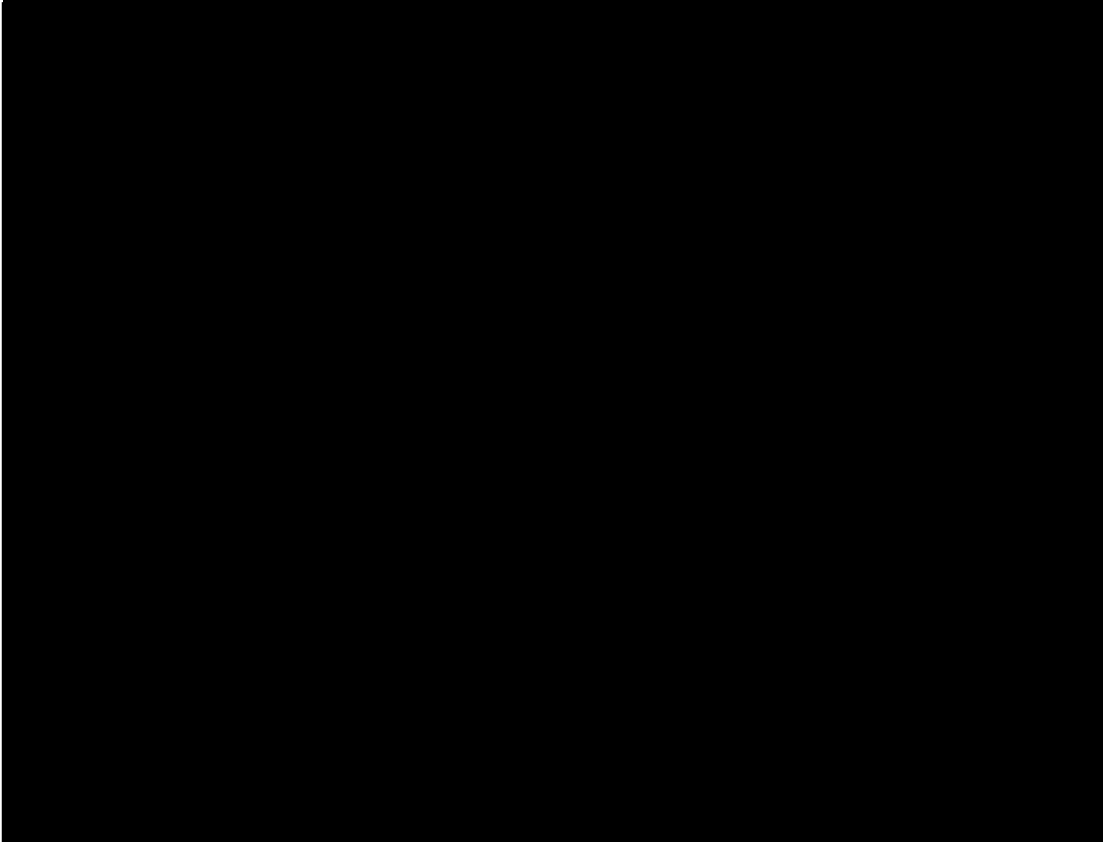
August 1, 1997

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The dissertation of LeAnn Grogan Putney is approved.



August 1997

August 1, 1997

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1997**

DEDICATIONS

**In loving memory of my father,
Charles E. Grogan.**

I acquired from him a sense of adventure, which first sent me into this enterprise, along with a sense of humor, which kept me going through the entire process. From him I also learned to look at life from different angles of vision. I miss his encouragement, yet sense it often when I need it the most.

and

**In loving memory of my adopted grandparents,
Bill and Bertie Holloway.**

I received from them love and moral support for all the time that I knew them. I wish they could have been here for the closure of this chapter. They will always be remembered for the central role they played in the California segment of my life.

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I don't know many who could co-chair a dissertation committee, but Judith Green and Carol Dixon certainly deserve accolades for their willingness and capabilities in crafting this arrangement. Serving also as my advisor, Judith Green has supported, challenged, and mentored me in crafting a research perspective that augmented my philosophical stance on educational issues. Carol Dixon provided support and mentoring from a different, although compatible, angle of vision. She offered cross-case comparisons on a regular basis, helping me to understand my own involvement in various research projects along the

way. Together through their leadership in the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, Judith and Carol have offered me tremendous opportunities to participate in collaborative research with other graduate students, teachers, and visiting scholars. This networking of educators and researchers is extensive, and a resource that that I highly value and anticipate sustaining for years to come.

As to the other members of my committee, Richard Durán offered me the intellectual challenge to clarify constructs that I grappled with throughout my studies here. Janet Chrispeels kept me on track, especially with her view of the big picture whenever I started to get lost in details. My work with her in my first year served me well in later projects. Beth Yeager has continued to amaze and inspire me as a researcher and educator during the time that I worked with her. I have been privileged with membership in the Tower Community, and I appreciate the work we have done together. I have grown personally and professionally with and because of her.

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The most heartfelt thanks of all I impart to my husband, Thomas. He has believed in me from our beginning, and has always encouraged me to go for the next degree. His love and support has been immense and unwavering, and for that I am especially grateful. Here’s to the next phase in our lives, the onset of what we have worked so hard to achieve here. Thanks again, coach

VITA

September 18, 1954-Born-Lafayette, Indiana

1975-B.A., Indiana State University

1977-Purdue University

1993-M.A., California State University, Stanislaus

**1994-Graduate Research Assistant, Parent/School Partnership Program,
Professor Janet Chrispeels, Principal Investigator**

**1995-Graduate Research Assistant, Ethnographic study in seventh grade
English As Second Language classroom. Professors Judith Green
and Carol Dixon, Co-Principal Investigators.**

**1996-Graduate Research Assistant, Ethnographic study in fifth grade
bilingual classroom. Professors Judith Green and Carol Dixon, Co-
Principal Investigators.**

**1996-Teaching Assistant, Graduate School of Education, University of
California, Santa Barbara**

**1996-Ethnographer for South Coast Writing Project Summer Institute,
Santa Barbara, California**

**1994-Graduate Research Assistant, Gervitz On-Site After School
Homework Center Project, Dean Jules Zimmer, Principal
Investigator.**

**1996-Coordinator, Gervitz On-Site After School Homework Center
Project, Dean Jules Zimmer, Principal Investigator.**

1997-Ph.D., University of California, Santa Barbara

PUBLICATIONS

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- Wink, J., Putney, L., & Bravo-Lawrence, I. (1995, January/February). Socioculturally learning: What in the world does it mean? *CABE Newsletter, 17*, 8-9, 22.**
- Wink, J., Putney, L., & Bravo-Lawrence, I. (1995, March/April). Vygotsky's zone of proximal development: What in the world is it? *CABE Newsletter, 17*, 12-13, 24.**

FIELDS OF STUDY

**Major Field: Educational Psychology with Emphasis in Language,
Culture, and Literacy**

Studies in:

Classroom Ethnographic Research; Qualitative Methods-Professors
Judith Green and Carol Dixon

Sociohistorical Theories-Professor Richard Durán

Epistemology and Education- Professor Gregory Kelly

Sociolinguistics in Education; Classroom Discourse-Professor Judith
Green

***Second Language Acquisition; Curriculum Reading and Language
Arts***-Professor Carol Dixon

First Language Acquisition-Professor Patricia Clancy

Language, Culture, and Society-Professor Emeritus John J. Gumperz

Literacy-Professor Judith Green

Biliteracy-Professor Reynaldo Macias

ABSTRACT

Collective-Individual Development in a Fifth Grade Bilingual Class: An Interactional Ethnographic Analysis of Historicity and Consequentiality

by
LeAnn Grogan Putney

This dissertation examines the relationship between the collective and individuals within the collective from a social constructionist perspective. By combining a theory of collective-individual development from social/historical psychology with an Interactional Ethnographic orienting theory, this study provides a theoretical and methodological approach for examining the complexity of classroom discursive practices and the consequences for participating in these practices.

Specifically this study examines the onset of an inquiry based and community oriented curriculum in a bilingual classroom by addressing two goals. The first goal was to examine how the social construction of learning and development of a classroom collective shaped common understandings in and through the language spoken and actions taken by participants. The second goal was to examine consequences for members of living in, being absent from, and having to re-enter this

ongoing bilingual community. While not addressing directly issues particular to bilingual education, this work established a foundation for theoretically examining issues of development specific to bilingual students.

Through participant observation, data were collected and constructed throughout the 1995-96 school year in the form of field notes; videotape; audiotape; interviews (students, teachers, administrators); student artifacts (e.g., drawings, essays); photographs; and school documents. Ethnographic analysis identified a range of opportunities for learning academic content made available at group level across the school year. In addition discourse analysis made visible the moment-by-moment interactions which shaped these opportunities.

The findings demonstrated that constructing community in this classroom was an ongoing process. Community was also intertextually and intercontextually tied to social and academic practices through explicit references made by members. This work also established an approach for examining the consequentiality of life in an inquiry based classroom and the relationship of the collective to individual members. Through a telling case of a student who left and returned to the community this study demonstrated that social and academic practices of

the collective became cultural resources for her to use in re-establishing her position as member of the community.

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CHAPTER ONE

Collective-Individual Development: Analysis of Historicity and Consequentiality

Educational researchers in the past have generally taken a perspective on learning that privileges an individual focus. As noted by Rogoff (1990), researchers “have only recently begun to notice the social context of individual achievement and to develop methods for studying the real complexity of life rather than trying in vain to isolate human specimens for study” (p. 4). Researchers are beginning to examine what is made available in classrooms at a collective level, to be taken up at a personal level (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1997; John-Steiner, Panofsky, & Smith, 1994; Moll, 1990; Rogoff, 1990; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992a; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group et al., 1995; Souza Lima, 1995; Tuyay, Jennings, & Dixon, 1995b). However, few studies directly examine the relationship of a developing collective, over time, to individuals within that collective, and the consequences of entry and reentry on both individual and collective development.

***Framing the Study of Collective and
Personal Development: Goals and
Design***

To address the relationship of a developing collective and individuals within the collective, I elected a focused ethnographic study of a fifth grade bilingual (Spanish/English) classroom. The study consisted of systematic data collection over one school year, and a second year of data analysis and conceptual framing through interactions with the classroom teacher and other researchers. In this particular study I did not directly address issues of bilingual classrooms. Rather, I examined more conceptually the relationship of collective/individual development as a base for future studies in the realm of bilingual educational issues.

The student population in this Central Coastal California school was 85% Latino. The teacher had participated in ethnographic studies in this classroom since 1991. With her background in the social sciences, she had made the university research an explicit part of the lived experience of the students. She considered the university ethnographers "the other ethnographers" in the classroom since the students themselves would become ethnographers of their own classroom culture (Yeager, Floriani, & Green, 1996, see also for more detail about the

students as ethnographers). I also detail more of the classroom setting in Chapter 3.

The study had two goals. The first goal was to examine the social construction of learning and development of a classroom collective, and to reveal common understandings constructed in and through the discursive system (i.e., the language spoken and actions taken by participants). The second goal was to examine consequences for members living in, being absent from, and having to reenter this ongoing community.

For purposes of the second goal I examined the experiences of an individual student, Areli, who reentered the classroom community after an absence of 4 months. Her reentry raised concerns for the teacher, who noted a shift in Areli's actions. A bilingual Latina, Areli had been one of four strong female voices in a classroom with notably shy and quiet females, especially those who were Latinas. Upon reentry to the community, Areli was extremely quiet, and did not exhibit the enthusiasm for participation as she had in the past. Her shift in demeanor was what called her case to the attention of both the teacher and myself as researchers.

The rationale for explicating Areli's case is that her reentry makes apparent the theoretical relationship of the individual within the collective that I had set out to examine. Thus, Areli's experience of reentry serves as a telling case (Mitchell, 1984) of how the collective served as both a contributing factor in Areli's apparent unease of reentry, and then as a resource for her to reestablish her membership in the ongoing collective. It is in the juxtaposing of Areli's experience with the experience of the collective that I disclose the following: (a) what the community of learners constructed together through their discursive system, (b) how the common practices were made available for a reentering student to utilize as resource for taking action, and (c) how she reestablished her position as community member.

Theoretical Background

This study draws on two theoretical traditions, one grounded in socio-historical psychology and one grounded in anthropological theories of culture and sociolinguistics in education settings. Each of these will be addressed in this section. As part of the discussion I will provide a rationale for why both are needed to understand collective/individual development and the issues of entry and reentry on this development.

Conceptualizing Collective/Individual Development: The Theory of Lev Vygotsky

In his search for understanding how learning and development are related, Vygotsky (1978; 1986) theorized that learning and development are in a dynamic and reciprocal relationship, but are not equivalent. The notion of learning from Vygotsky is complex because he names the process *obuchenie*, a term that cannot be easily translated into English (Moll, 1990; Valsiner, 1988). This word in Russian describes an interdependent teaching/learning relationship in which one part of the relationship cannot occur without the other. The learning also takes place with the learner assuming an active role in the relationship. Thus learning is a process of social construction through interaction and in activity with others.

From this perspective, what has been actively constructed together is gradually internalized by the learner, and this internalization creates the possibility for development (John-Steiner et al., 1994). If we think of learning as an eventual internalization of what we have socially constructed through interactions and in activities with others, then we can view development as an unfolding of more interactions and activities. These subsequent developments (unfoldings of interactions and

activities) become increasingly more complex as we learn more (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1997; John-Steiner et al., 1994; Vygotsky, 1978; Vygotsky, 1986; Wertsch, 1985).

Another important factor to consider in conceptualizing development is the notion of microgenesis (Rogoff, 1990; Vygotsky, 1978). Rogoff (1990) defines microgenesis as "transformations in thinking that occur with successive attempts to handle a problem, even in time spans of minutes" (p. 11). Such micro transformations combine with those occurring across the years of an individual's life as part of the developmental processes that occurs across our life span. Vygotsky argued that in examining development, we must look at changes in the moment-by-moment interactions, and at activities of interactants over time.

The notion of examining actions and language in use of participants over time is also captured in the notion of historicity. Vygotsky (Newman & Holzman, 1993) viewed speech¹ as historical activity, and as a way of making meaning with others. According to Bruner (1987), Vygotsky's notion of learning to use language entails more than learning words, but also

¹ According to Wertsch (1990) "the object analysis was human communicative activity, or speech, not language as a system abstracted from use" (p. 115).

how to textualize one's intent and to situate a locution appropriately in a personal context involving another person with whom one shares a history, however brief. (p. 6)

In other words, speaking was viewed as an action one takes to create a text (utterances and non-verbal actions) that another can read and interpret to construct a common context of situation (what people are doing together), at a particular point in time. How we interact with others is based on our past experiences with them.

Since we each bring with us our past experiences, our personal context is also a social and historical context. In our personal context we involve at least one other person who shares a common history with us and within that context. Context, therefore, is not a given but a production of the participants within the group as they interact (Erickson & Shultz, 1981). People are environments for each other (McDermott, 1976), history is created within context, and constantly being constructed across time.

The Need to Look Over Time

This notion of examining actions of members across time was a limitation that I realized from my work in the Master's program. The research that I conducted for my Master's thesis, had limitations of time

and access that were beyond my control. While I was able to conduct sufficient observations of the classrooms in my study to compare practices of the teachers on the days observed, I was limited in the claims that I could make in that study based upon the duration of the study. What I recognized from that research was the need for a longer term ethnographic study of classroom practices.

In a second-year project prior to the dissertation, I explored an ethnographic framework of studying in an English as Second Language classroom with systematic visits over the school year. Through this research I was able to enhance my understanding of cultural theories through studies within the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group (1992a; 1992b). The ethnographic base of this research collective is derived from an anthropological perspective based on the works of Geertz (1983) and Spradley (1980). This study, while unpublished, led to a presentation at the Australian Reading Association Conference in Sydney, Australia.

The Need to Look Moment by Moment

That prior work also led to the next phase of my research, which was to examine in more depth a sociolinguistic approach to data analysis

with data from a High School English classroom seminar. In this work (Putney, 1996), I theoretically sampled events across the entire seminar to examine “ways in which words and actions come to mean in the classroom, and how the words one hears come to reflect a world of action common to members of that classroom” (p. 129). In this paper I extended the analytic works of Green and Wallat (1979; 1981) to include another type of interactional unit in the analysis of moment by moment talk, the action unit. This unit showed the ways a speaker tied individual bits of talk (message units) together to accomplish an action (e.g., to ask a question, to give directions, etc.) within turn.

From this prior work on data from two classrooms, I elected to research in an inquiry based, bilingual fifth grade classroom to study how bilingual teachers and students constructed knowledge together. This was an educational process that I wanted to understand in more detail and complexity. To do so I needed a research approach for examining interpersonal relationships constructed in such a dynamic classroom to inform my perspective on teaching and learning.

Linking Perspectives On Teaching, Learning, And Researching

The focus on personal and collective development in this study links my past experience as a teacher with my work as an educational researcher. This current study draws on two bodies of theory: (a) a Vygotskian or sociocultural perspective of learning and development, and (b) a social constructionist perspective grounded in sociolinguistics and ethnography. I briefly described the Vygotskian perspective in the prior section, and here I will examine how that perspective is related with and informed by a social constructionist perspective.

Cushman (1991) suggests that a social constructionist argument can be summarized to say that,

Humans cannot be studied outside of their lived context...humans are not separable from their culture and history: they are fundamentally and inextricably intertwined. (p. 207)

In applying a social constructionist perspective to learning, Durán (1995) describes it as a perspective that focuses on

how learning may result through the appropriation of cultural beliefs about the world, and how to function competently in activity settings that constitute the 'lived experience' of particular communities of practice. (p. 150)

A researcher studying classroom life from a social constructionist perspective, then, would have to recognize that members of classroom

communities engage in activities in and through their interactions with others (Green & Dixon, 1993). In other words, students and teachers act and interact, jointly constructing what counts as knowledge in their life world. This is an important point of a research perspective because it requires a particular way of looking at classroom interactions on the part of the researcher.

Recognizing that knowledge is not kept in the minds of individuals, but is being constructed in and through the actions and talk of members of a social group requires a researcher to first recognize and acknowledge apriori assumptions (Heap, 1993) about what is happening in classroom events. Next the researcher must attempt to view the classroom interactions from an insider, or emic, perspective to realize what counts as knowledge to the interactants. Otherwise the researcher tends to impose her own recognition of what is important to understand about classroom interactions.

One means of recognizing an insider perspective is to use a set of criteria to determine what is salient and significant to members. I have elected to apply a set of criteria by Bloome and Egan Robertson (1993) from their work on intertextuality. In this work, they define intertextuality as a juxtaposition of texts, either conversational or written, which are

related to previous and forthcoming texts. They also note that the existence of this relationship of texts is not a given, but is part of a social construction. They establish the criteria for determining intertextuality as follows:

People, interacting with each other, construct intertextual relationships by the ways they act and react to each other. An intertextual relationship is proposed, is recognized, is acknowledged, and has social significance (Bloome & Egan Robertson, 1993, p. 311).

In a upcoming work (Floriani & Putney, forthcoming), authors Floriani and Putney utilize these criteria for understanding the notion of intercontextuality (Floriani, 1993). The concept of intercontextuality examines the juxtaposition of classroom contexts, which in this case refers to the practices that classroom members take up with texts. In her previous work, Floriani (1993) noted that students utilized the practices from one context, specifically ways of being with text and constructing text, in making sense of the current context. We further expanded upon her prior work by applying the criteria for intertextuality to examples of intercontextuality that sampled across years in the same bilingual classroom.

In this dissertation, I further elaborate Bloome and Egan Robertson's criteria by applying them to a broader set of processes and

practices. In this case, I examine what counts as knowing and doing to classroom members as they socially construct academic practices together. Utilizing this criteria first requires a researcher to seek what is being interactionally accomplished in talk and actions of members of a group. Then, to determine what counts as knowing and doing to members of a group, a researcher must realize what is being proposed, recognized, and acknowledged as knowing and doing by those members. Furthermore, the proposed knowing and doing must have social significance to the members of the group, as indicated in their talk and actions.

Throughout the interactions, these participants also bring with them their own experiences which have combined to bring them to this point in their lives. They have been learning with others and making sense through the language of their social worlds, and now they are combining their literate practices, their language(s), and their ways of being with others in this classroom community. As Collins & Green (1992) have noted,

life in classrooms becomes patterned as members construct a common language and set of experiences that influence their interpretations of future actions and interactions. Members of the class also develop roles and relationships, rights and obligations, and norms and expectations that influence the ways in which individual members and

differing subgroups will participate and act as well as how the total class itself will conduct life. (p. 72)

This view of classroom life suggests that it is through the interactions that classroom members act as a culture in generating patterned ways of being, acting, and interacting (Collins & Green, 1992; Green & Dixon, 1993). One means of constructing cultural tools and artifacts is through a language that is common to members of that community, that is to say, a *language of the classroom* (Lin, 1993).

Studying such an environment requires research perspectives that provide a means of describing how the actions of members are jointly constructed in the moment, as well as how these actions become patterned practices over time. Through analysis of these actions we can identify what counts as learning to these classroom members (Green & Meyer, 1991). If we can recognize what counts as learning to both the individuals and the collective, then we can begin to understand the personal take-up (Nuthall, 1995; Tuyay et al., 1995b) of individuals within the collective, and what consequences exist as a result of the collective/personal relationship.

Approach and Questions Guiding This Study

In order to examine both the personal and collective development, I utilized an Interactional Ethnographic approach. The methods of data analysis will be more closely described in Chapter 3. However, it is important to note here the fundamental basis of such a research approach in order to recognize the rationale for the questions which guide the study. Interactional Ethnography combines an ethnographic perspective with a sociolinguistic analysis of the social construction of events.

In utilizing an ethnographic component, a classroom researcher depicts the actions of participants in a classroom setting over time. This over time view makes explicit the patterned life of participants in classrooms and provides a “what is happening here” focus to the study. A sociolinguistic analysis of the classroom discursive system allows for a more in-depth view of how classroom life is socially constructed through the moment-by-moment actions and talk of participants. This view provides a more micro-level focus of life in classrooms, which can then be positioned within the larger patterned view from the ethnographic perspective.

Using such an approach to analyzing the discursive system makes available a multidimensional view of classroom life. Each dimension constitutes a more concentrated view, as if we were looking at it through a higher-powered lens. Thus each view has a different focus and a different research question. Each view also connects with the next view in order to make a focused look at the classroom, the discursive system of the classroom, and thus the opportunities for learning academic content made available through enactment of that discursive system and construction of the classroom community. Table 1. 1 is a depiction of this study, which displays the questions that are appropriate for each segment of the study.

Phase 1 of the analysis

In this part of the dissertation, I provide an analytic conceptualization of the Tower community from the point of view of the members in the community. Central to this segment are the practices in which members of the Tower community engage on a day-to-day basis. This section describes the findings from a macro analysis of the classroom experiences to answer the questions: (a) How does the teacher construct opportunities for learning by formulating patterns of

Table 1. 1
Ethnographic research diagram illustrating the research questions and power of focus

Exploring Developing Community: Examining Patterns of Practice	Telling Case of Areli: Individual Development Within A Collective	Writing About Community: Focus on Individuals Within A Collective
Examining the Tower community through shared common practices, leading to generally focused questions about community development:	Examining a personal reformulation of community social and academic practices, leading to more focused questions about personal take-up:	Examining the formulation and reformulation of the discursive system of the classroom collective, leading to focused questions about the collective take-up:
• How does the teacher construct opportunities for learning by formulating patterns of practice? • What roles do the social and academic practices play in the construction of the Tower community?	• What cultural resources does a student draw on to reenter an ongoing classroom community? • How does a student take up opportunities for learning in reentering an ongoing community of learners? • What are consequences for individuals and the collective when a member leaves and reenters a community?	• What counts as community to members? • What do students inscribe as cultural processes and practices of their classroom community?

practice? and (b) What roles do the social and academic practices play in the construction of the Tower community?

Phase 2 of the analysis

This section contains an analysis of a particular student's departure from and reentry into the community as a telling case (Mitchell, 1984) of personal development and student take-up of opportunities to learn (Tuyay et al., 1995b) academic content in the classroom. By focusing on this student, and juxtaposing a timeline of her academic year with that of the collective, I make visible what opportunities were available to be taken up, and in what ways she was able to reestablish herself as community member. This segment of the study answers the questions: (a) What cultural resources does a student draw on to reenter an ongoing classroom community? (b) How does a student take up opportunities for learning in reentering an ongoing community of learners? and (c) What are consequences for individuals and the collective when a member leaves and reenters a community?

Phase 3 of the analysis

This segment of the study provides an analysis of the discursive system of the classroom. The purpose of this segment is to examine the

development of other individuals within the collective. The analysis of textual artifacts, including student community essays and theoretically sampled classroom discourse also serves as verification that the community provides opportunities for learning for all of the community members. Through this analysis, I provide answers to the questions: (a) What counts as community to members? and (b) What do students inscribe as cultural processes and practices of their classroom community?

Organization of the Dissertation

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine and depict the relationship of the developing individual within the developing collective. In her work, Souza-Lima (1995), calls for the examination of potential development of students in two forms: group development, and individual development as part of the group. This perception of development encompasses the notion of potential development, or “possibilities that are held in the future” (p. 447) by both individuals and the collective. The notion of collectivity as applied to classroom experiences in this study serves as a basis for understanding the consequences of continuity and discontinuity of the collective over time.

What this dissertation seeks to clarify is what the community members construct together, and how the community itself becomes a resource for individual students as well as for the collective. Further I clarify how a student's leaving was consequential for both the individual and the collective.

In this Chapter 1 have presented the conceptual framing and purpose for the dissertation. Chapter 2 provides a theoretical framework. Highlighting a sociocultural-historical conceptualization of development and an orienting theory of classrooms as acting as cultures. The research methodology of Interactional Ethnography is the basis for Chapter 3, with a description of the setting and the participants. This dissertation consists of three analysis chapters (Chapters 4-6). In Chapter 4, I examine the social and academic practices of the Tower Community. Additionally, I establish what kinds of opportunities for learning are formulated by the teacher through the community practices. The personal take-up of those opportunities for learning is examined in Chapter 5, through analysis of actions by and artifacts from a reentering student. In Chapter 6, I further examine artifacts of the entire collective to verify whether the reentry student's personal view of the community was an anomaly, or whether it was similar to the views expressed by other

community members. I will discuss implications of these findings and suggestions for future research in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical Framework And Conceptual Review Of Literature

In Chapter 1, I established the need for a study examining the consequences of a student's absence from a classroom community, both for the individual student, and for the whole class as a collective. This chapter provides a theoretical framework for the study and a conceptual review of literature. The theoretical framework for this study combines two distinct, but compatible bodies of theory: a social constructionist perspective as explicated through an Interactional Ethnographic research approach, and a Vygotskian, sociocultural-historical perspective on learning and development.

The first section of the chapter unfolds the orienting theory of Interactional Ethnography as a means of examining a classroom from a social constructionist perspective. I explain the notion of viewing a classroom collective as acting as a culture, and provide an overview of the ways this perspective guides a researcher in the collection, interpretation, and initial analysis of data. A more detailed unfolding of the analytical methodology will be addressed in Chapter 3. The second

section of the chapter focuses on a sociocultural-historical view of learning and development, to bring an understanding of why study individual within collective development. This explanatory theory complements the orienting theory of Interactional Ethnography by offering a second perspective that serves as a comparative theory to corroborate and extend understandings from the orienting theory. The third section defines additional key constructs needed to explain the findings presented in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Weaving a Theoretical Framework

In this chapter I elected to utilize two approaches to the study of a classroom community. I begin with an Interactional Ethnographic approach combining a cognitive anthropology perspective with sociolinguistic data analysis. The approach of Interactional Ethnography equips the researcher with an orienting theory for viewing classrooms from the perspective of as a potential member of a developing culture (see Chapter 3 for a fuller discussion of the methodological dimension of Interactional Ethnography). Building on this base I use the sociocultural-historical approach to make a case for studying learning and developing as simultaneously collective and individual processes.

Interactional Ethnography: Framing This Study Within a Collective of Studies

This dissertation builds from a corpus of classroom studies by members of the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, who have been developing the orienting theory discussed in this section. I use the term developing here because the notion of viewing classrooms as acting (Collins & Green, 1992) as a culture is constantly being revisited in these studies. The orienting theory shapes the nature of the study. However, this type of research is a recursive and dialogic work, and the methodology for analyzing data is continuously being updated and shaped by the various researchers who take up this work.

This reciprocal relationship of researcher and theoretical frame allows each study to develop in its own way, and for the researchers to add to our collective conceptualization of classroom life and our understandings of the referential systems that are enacted within those classrooms. Therefore, each of the researchers utilizing this orienting theory attempts to hold constant the method for viewing the classroom, examining actions, interactions and artifacts, and for constructing data during the analysis. However, as we each add our personal interpretations to the theoretical constructs, we continue to stretch,

expand, and reshape the orienting theory that gives our combined studies a methodological stability. In this respect, the theoretical underpinnings of Interactional Ethnography are stable, but not static, and allow for multiple interpretations based on the explanatory theories the researchers bring to their studies.

In past studies, the research of Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group has generally focused on the development of the group/collective, and not on the development of individuals in relation to the collective (Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992a; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992b). While some studies have examined particular individual-within-group take-up (Heras, 1993; Prentiss, 1995; Rex, 1994), the primary focus has been on developing understandings of what the collective makes available to individuals and groups of students (Floriani, 1993; Fránquiz, Green, & Craviotto, 1993; Green & Dixon, 1993; Heras, 1993; Prentiss, 1995; Putney, 1996).

Previous studies have explored: how membership in particular groups shapes opportunities for learning (Tuyay et al., 1995b); ways of being a student (Brilliant-Mills, 1993; Kantor, Green, Bradley, & Lin, 1992; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992a; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992b; Santa Barbara Classroom

Discourse Group et al., 1995); what counts as discipline-based knowledge (Brilliant-Mills, 1993; de la Cruz & Brandts, 1995; Floriani, 1993; Heras, 1993; Kantor et al., 1992; Lin, 1993; Prentiss, 1995; Tuyay, Floriani, Dixon, & Green, 1995a; Yeager et al., 1996); literate actions as social accomplishments (Green & Meyer, 1991; Putney, 1996; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992a; Tuyay et al., 1995a); and how classroom community shapes and is shaped by members' actions and socially constructed practices (Collins & Green, 1992; Floriani, 1997; Green & Harker, 1982; Lin, 1993; Putney, 1996; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992a).

These studies have contributed to the construction of a set of premises about life in classrooms (Table 2. 1), which I address in more detail later in this chapter under the explanation of key constructs. These premises can be considered in multiple ways: as an orienting framework for conceptualizing life in a classroom, as a method for theoretically sampling data for purposes of analysis, and as explanatory theory for interpreting data.

These distinctions are important given that ethnographic study is recursive and also "flexible and self-corrective" (Gaskins, Miller, & Corsaro, 1992, p. 16). That is, questions and interpretations of data

Table 2. 1

Premises about classroom life from the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group

A classroom acts as a culture in which members (teacher(s), students, and others) construct common knowledge and patterned ways of engaging with each other through moment-by-moment interactions. (Collins & Green, 1992; Edwards & Mercer, 1987; Green & Harker, 1982; Green & Meyer, 1991).

Through interactions, patterns of life (e.g., ways of interacting, communicating, and negotiating) are constructed over time, which become ordinary and thus often invisible to members (Green & Harker, 1982; Gumperz & Hymes, 1986; Heath, 1982; Kantor et al., 1992; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992b).

Living in particular classrooms leads to particular ways of communicating and acting, which in turn, lead to particular ways of being (e.g., student, teacher, researcher, reader writer, social scientist), ways of doing, and ways of knowing (Femie, Davies, Kantor, & McMurray, 1993; Green & Dixon, 1993; Lemke, 1990).

The actions of members, therefore, shape particular opportunities for learning as well as common knowledge of what it means to be a member and what counts as academic content in this class (Brilliant-Mills, 1993; Lin, 1993; Putney, 1996; Tuyay et al., 1995b).

The norms and expectations, roles and relationships, and rights and obligations of membership become visible when we ask the following: *Who can do or say what, to or with whom, under what conditions, for what purpose, when and where, with what outcome* (Floriani, 1993; Green & Meyer, 1991).

The class has a history that cannot be ignored (Bloome & Bailey, 1992). This history becomes visible by considering:

- the referential system that members construct to conduct the everyday events and processes of classroom life - the language of the classroom (Fairclough, 1993; Lin, 1993).
- the patterns of interaction within and across events and time - the cycles of activity (Green & Meyer, 1991).
- the occurrence and recurrence of events and themes - the intertextuality (Bloome & Bailey, 1992; Bloome & Egan Robertson, 1993) and ways of being with text - intercontextuality (Floriani, 1993; Floriani & Putney, forthcoming) that are recognized by members, interactionally acknowledged, and socially significant to members.

change as the researcher begins the process of analyzing and reviewing fieldnotes and videotapes. Gaskins, Miller, and Corsaro (1992) further relate that "interpretive analysis of ethnographic data cannot be fully specified in advance" (p. 17). Thus the orienting theory is utilized to frame initial interpretations, and other complementary theories are brought to bear where needed. In this way, the orienting theory becomes a stabilizing, but not static factor in the researcher approach to the study.

In this section I summarized how an Interactional Ethnographic approach has been utilized by various members of the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group across multiple studies of life in classrooms. In the next section I will examine the second portion of my theoretical framework, a sociocultural-historical approach to learning and development, and describe how it complements this orienting theory.

Dynamic Theory of Learning and Developing

The notion of group and individual development in this study stems from a Vygotskian (1986) perspective, which asserts that learning and developing are in continuous, reciprocal, and dynamic relationship with each other. As Vygotsky noted (1978), "Any learning a child encounters in school always has a previous history....Learning and

development are interrelated from the child's very first day of life" (p. 84).

One of the keys to this perspective is that to understand individuals, one first needs to discern the social relationships in which individuals exist (Wertsch, 1985). Vygotsky stated that "the first problem is to show how the individual response emerges from the forms of collective life" (Wertsch, 1985, p. 59). Thus he established a view of psychology which attempted to theorize the individual by first examining social relations, rather than attempting to study social relationships through the study of the individual alone, as had been promoted by his predecessors and his contemporaries.

From this perspective, if learning is both social and personal, and if learning and developing are interrelated, then development must also be both social and personal. Further illumination of this concept requires clarifying the notion of social as used in this context. As noted by Zebroski (1994),

Vygotsky is not arguing that social relations and thinking...are *identical*. Rather he is arguing that they form a *unity*, inextricably interrelated and bound up with one another. Social relations are always transformed when they are internalized by the individual...and each transformation is guided, even formed, by motive. (p. 160)

Individuals decide what is important in their social relations to take up. In this take-up, they reconstruct the social in a personal transformation of social relations. Another way of expressing this transformation is in terms of formulating and reformulating concepts. As Bruner (1987) noted from Vygotsky's lecture on memory, "thinking depends upon memory. With time and development, memory comes increasingly to depend upon thinking, upon acts of formulation and reformulation" (p. 10). In other words, as we learn more, the action of remembering itself becomes an act of thinking and rethinking. This process of thinking also includes the use of our prior experiences to reformulate what we recognize from the past, and then to apply that to a new situation.

Thus as we combine what we have learned in the past with what we are acting on in the present, we transform or reformulate the past into the present. Vygotsky argues that we do so through the act of using mediational tools, such as language. That is, language as a mediational tool transforms our thinking, and moves us beyond our prior experience. This action of using language can be considered a revolutionary action, in that thinking and speaking are transformational when we rethink, redefine, and reconceptualize what we once knew into a different experience.

According to Newman and Holtzman (1993), this transformational action of thinking and rethinking, formulating and reformulating concepts are what Vygotsky referred to when he talked of seeking "the discovery of the historical child" (Rieber & Carton, 1987, p. 91). Newman and Holtzman (1993), further state that

the historical child...is busy making meaning, changing the determining totality, letting her/his revolutionary activity create more revolutionary activity...for the capacity to reorganize what we have, not the ability merely to use what is given, is the essential situation for the historical child and the historical adult (p. 117).

In other words, this recombining of the past and present to inform our future is part of the notion of historicity as I utilize it in this dissertation. Historicity goes beyond simply recognizing what was in our past. It takes into account a relationship of the present with the past, a recombining of past experiences and reformulation of these experiences with new thinking, speaking, and experiencing.

Thus in classrooms, Vygotsky's notion of development (Zebroski, 1994) can be applied to situations where past experiences are being reconstructed or reformulated in terms of new experiences. For example, when a new activity is introduced, completion of the activity may require students to reconstruct or reformulate prior learning in terms of the new

problems set before them. However, students are not required to start from square one each time they confront a new activity. They are able to draw upon cultural resources (e.g., language and semiotic systems) and social interactions as they recall and utilize prior knowledge and reconstruct that knowledge in terms of the new activity. Thus what is constructed in and by a collective can be utilized by individuals to reconstruct knowledge for themselves. A similar notion, intercontextuality (Floriani, 1993) extends this conceptualization of utilizing prior knowledge in new situations, and I will elaborate on that construct later in this chapter.

Individual Within Collective Development

If we recognize that learning and development are both social and individual, then we can consider that learning and development can be simultaneously of the collective and of the individual as part of the collective. This notion was recently offered by Souza Lima (1995) drawing from Vygotsky. She argued for an understanding of the schooling experience as a transformative and cultural-historical process. Souza Lima further examines the notion of development of students in two forms: (a) group development, and (b) individual development as

part of the group. This development encompasses the notion of potential development, which she explains as:

possibilities that are held in the "future" and that reside in the knowledge fund of the collectivity and the forms that are being developed as a result of the cultural process of the group in which the individual is inserted (Souza Lima, 1995, 447-448.)

Souza Lima recognizes that there are two dimensions of development and that these dimensions construct each other. She asks readers to consider that individual development is integrally tied to the development of the collective itself. She further argues that a collective is developing, not static. Culture, therefore, is not an object or a state of being, but rather, a dynamic and developing process that is reflected in and constructed through the actions and interactions of members over time.

From this perspective, members are not merely socialized to the culture, they also contribute to its construction (Gaskins et al., 1992; Lempert Shepel, 1995; Souza Lima, 1995). Viewed through this lens, to understand individual development, it is also necessary to understand the historical dimensions of the group and the history of the relationships of the individual-within-the-group to the opportunities afforded by the group. This view of development involves a dynamic and dialectical

relationship between the actions and history of an individual and that of the group, as members construct cultural tools and practices through their joint activity.

Souza Lima's view of development captures one of the central problematics facing those in education, whether they are students, teachers, or researchers, given the collective nature of schooling: What is the relationship between the development of the group and the development of the individual? The individual-group dialectic is one that teachers and students face daily in developing a community of practice. As they reformulate and construct knowledge of academic content and cultural practices, the material resources of the collective will enable them to freely participate in future educational activity (Lempert Shepel, 1995; Souza Lima, 1995).

Souza Lima's formulation of the two dimensions of development also has implications for researchers. If as she argues, collective and individual development are dialectically, historically, and transformatively interdependent, then the approach we use to research these dynamic and complex processes must be able to capture the development of the collective and the individual within the collective, and explore how each creates and is created by the other. This is the rationale I presented for

using Interactional Ethnography as an approach to studying the individual within collective development.

The nature of Interactional Ethnography combines a view of the classroom members establishing a common way of believing, perceiving, and acting over time (Putney, 1996; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992a). At the same time, Interactional Ethnography offers a means of examining how members construct this commonality in the moment-to-moment interactions. The component of sociolinguistic discourse analysis brings to view how a discursive system, the actions, talk, and subsequent texts (oral, aural, written, or visual) (Green & Meyer, 1991) are constructed by members of the collective. Thus, as argued previously, Interactional Ethnography offers an approach for research in classrooms that can depict the relationship of individual and collective development. This will be further illustrated through the analyses of data in the findings chapters.

Definitions of Key Theoretical Constructs

In this section I define an additional set of key constructs that are central to this study. To do so I revisit the classroom premises from Interactional Ethnography and also introduce some complementary terms

from sociocultural-historical theory. Some of the terms may not translate exactly from one theoretical position to the other, since the two positions are grounded in different disciplines (anthropology and psychology). However, there is enough similarity in the constructs to argue for the complementarity of these theoretical positions.

Development As Cultural

In a previous section I discussed Souza Lima's (1995) sociocultural-historical view of development. In revisiting parts of her quotation in this section, I examine key constructs that are crucial to this study. The first notion is that knowledge of the collectivity is "being developed as a result of the cultural process of the group in which the individual is inserted" (p. 448). This statement suggests that the process of development is cultural by nature since the group constructs collective meaning or common knowledge. This view of development is dynamic, since the individuals, as parts of a group (i.e., a community of learners in a classroom), are using cultural tools (e.g., language and other sign systems) to build together a common fund of knowledge as cultural resources.

This view of development can also be seen in the work of Gaskins, Miller & Corsaro (1992), in which they note that children's development as a process is "constructive, and that it is necessarily individual *and* collective" (p. 6). By individual they mean that each child creates personal meaning from the resources to which s/he is exposed. At the same time that this construction is individual, it is also collective as the cultural resources drawn on were created by other people, even of other generations, and are made available to the child through other people. Another naming of the process by Corsaro (1992) is *productive-reproductive*. This process as named by Corsaro is not one of children merely imitating an adult world, but a process in which "children not only select from and creatively use cultural resources but also contribute to the production of culture" (Gaskins et al., 1992, p. 7). Thus Corsaro and his colleagues indicate the dialectic relationship of the social structure contributing to the child's development, and the child's contribution to the social structure.

This dialectic relationship is a view that has also been examined by others who take a sociocultural-historical view of learning and development. For example, Moll and his colleagues (Greenberg, 1989, April; Moll, 1990; Moll & Greenberg, 1990; Moll & Whitmore, 1993) have

researched “funds of knowledge” that are constructed in Mexican-American neighborhoods surrounding the schools in which they conduct their research. They have found that the relatives and neighbors of Mexican-American youth in their studies construct together an elaborate system of specialization in different areas of need for their particular community. They share this wealth of knowledge with each other, in expectation that when they have need of the expertise of others, they will be assisted as they have assisted others in need.

Thus while individuals have specialized talent and knowledge, because of their networking as a community, the funds of knowledge of the collective are available for individuals to take up as needed. These funds of knowledge are also available to students to assist them in integrating their everyday knowledge with the more formal schooled knowledge they encounter in classroom activities. Further, Moll and his colleagues have taken this notion of shared knowledge a step further by establishing an after school lab to bring teachers, researchers, and students together in exploring the teaching of literacy.

Thus they have extended classroom teaching and researching beyond the physical walls and institutional time of class, to an after school setting in which teachers, students, and researchers construct a

different fund of knowledge that serves to inform all. The approach of Moll et al. serves as an example of Vygotsky's notion of the Zone of Proximal Development, which I will explain next before turning to the approach for examining the collaboration I have just described.

Zone of Proximal Development

The work of Vygotsky was not limited to theorizing psychological processes. Rather, he was always concerned with the application of theory in practice, and his developmental constructs were also directed toward pedagogy and learning, perhaps because of his own early experience as a teacher in Gomel. Vygotsky (Kozulin, 1990) believed that instruction leads and supports development through the interaction of two kinds of concepts: scientific or schooled concepts, and spontaneous or everyday concepts. The everyday concepts were those that were constructed from one's own observations and experiences in everyday life before and/or outside of school. These generalizations about everyday events were necessary for children to begin acquiring scientific concepts, which were more abstract and taught in a formalized setting such as school.

The two types of concepts then work in harmony with each other because the spontaneous concepts create an experiential path for the development of the scientific concepts. These scientific or schooled concepts offer organization to the child's thinking, thus paving the way for more spontaneous concepts to develop. The two kinds of concepts work together in a reciprocal relationship and build from and upon each other. This process is central to the zone of proximal development. In collaboration with others, the process of constructing schooled concepts merges with our prior experiential concepts through problem solving activities.

In describing such a process, Wells (1994) states that "learning takes place in the context of purposeful activity, as learner and teacher work together to create a product that has its own intrinsic value" (p. 263). This purposeful activity constitutes a social process, with the actors bringing to the process their own lived experiences, from their own sociocultural-historical contexts. Wells (1994) further refers to this exchange as "minds-on activity," and indicates the tool of greatest importance is language, the preeminent joint activity that of discourse, and the purpose of the activity that of creating common knowledge and enhancing individual understanding (p. 263).

Vygotsky (1978; 1986) conceptualized a zone of proximal development as a way of viewing what children are coming to know. Vygotsky (1978; 1986) defined the zone as: the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (p. 86). In other words, through interactions with others, the spontaneous (or everyday) concepts of the child's own experience come into contact with the scientific (or schooled) concepts introduced through the educational process in and through the interactions with others. The difference, then, between what a child can do with assistance and what s/he can later do alone is a measure of the developing psychological functions. This notion takes into account individual differences. It also focuses upon the communicative nature of learning in which the participants come to an understanding of the operations they are performing.

Others have continued to reconceptualize the zone of proximal development, each with their own interpretation of what was meant by Vygotsky's work. The following is not a totally exhaustive listing of all of those works, but a sampling of some of their interpretations of the zone.

For example, it has been described by Moll (1990) as "social dynamics" (p. 5), by Kozulin (1990) as "everyday concepts in contact with scientific concepts" (p. 170), by Edwards and Mercer (1987) as "profound changes" (p. 19.), by Newman & Holzman (1993) as "unit of study for human activity and relationship" (p. 65), and by Griffin & Cole (1984), as "a dialogue with the future" (p. 62).

However, in the case of both Cazden (Moll & Greenberg, 1990) and Tharp & Gallimore (1988), the key words in their description deal with performance, which could also be thought of as achievement or accomplishment of an activity. Care must be taken to look at the process of performing itself, and not merely indicate the end product. It is in objectifying the actions of the participants that the nature of the zone of proximal development changes from a dynamic process, a dialogic relationship between participants, to being a static, bounded notion. While the description still deals with activity, the focus is on *what* is accomplished, not on *how* it gets accomplished by the actors in dialogic interaction with text and each other.

It is important to note that Vygotsky conceptualized this notion in reference to two educational problems: how children are assessed, and the evaluation of instructional practices (Wertsch, 1985). His concern

was that if we only assess the matured functions, what has been learned, we miss the possibilities that lie just ahead, in the very next level of performance. This is a notion that even in current times is seen as the distinction between Soviet research and US research. Wertsch (1985) cites a discussion in which Leont'ev noted, "American researchers are constantly seeking to discover how the child came to be what he is; we in the USSR are striving to discover not how the child came to be what he is, but how he can become what he not yet is" (p.67). As to instructional practice, Vygotsky (Wertsch, 1985) noted that "instruction is good only when it proceeds ahead of development. Then it awakens and rouses to life an entire set of functions which are in the stage of maturing, which lie in the zone of proximal development" (p. 71).

The notion of studying classroom interaction by analyzing classroom discourse would be a logical extension of the work started by Vygotsky, especially since he was interested in the dynamic changes experienced by children in the learning process. However, Moll (1990) raises an important cautionary note that not all assisted learning (e.g., rote drill and practice, work sheets, and skills-based practice) represents this notion. The zone of proximal development then becomes another

case of the individuals' learning and developing within and through their social connections with the collective.

Since this study focuses on collective-individual learning and development, I further examine how to establish a means of studying such a process. This leads me to the research approach of Interactional Ethnography from a social constructionist perspective in order to show both what is being constructed collectively in and through a zone of proximal development, what is available for individual take up, and how the social construction is being interactionally accomplished. Thus, examining the collective-individual process of constructing meaning in a classroom from a sociocultural-historical perspective is parallel to the notion from Interactional Ethnography of viewing a classroom as acting as a culture. From both perspectives we recognize that individuals together as a collective construct common meaning through their actions and talk, which is available for individuals to take up and utilize as a cultural resource. In the next section I examine in more detail the notion of classrooms as cultures.

Classrooms As Cultures

The conceptualization of a classroom as acting as a culture is a situated viewing (Green & Meyer, 1991) of, and local notion of culture (Geertz, 1983). In other words, culture is of a group, and participants in classrooms come together as a group and establish patterns of action and ways of being that are particular to their group (Collins & Green, 1992). For example, a classroom is a particular kind of setting for the study of teaching and learning in that it is bounded by its nature with an institutional beginning and ending (Collins & Green, 1992). That is to say that teachers and students come together as a group on the first day of the school year. This group works in a common time and place until the last day of the school year. While much preparation on the part of individual teachers and students may occur before the *official* beginning, the first day of class can be thought of as the initial moment in time when they begin their journey together as a collected group of individuals.

Additionally, membership in the group may not be static for various reasons: participants may not attend every day, new participants may join the group, either as temporary or long-term members (e.g., student teachers, university researchers), participants may leave the group, or leave and return. Although membership is not static it can be

said to be relatively stable as a core group remains in place during the entire school year. Thus one can chart the beginnings of the group and follow the development of that group throughout the school year as the participants jointly construct life in their classroom as well as examine demands of membership when members enter or leave the community.

What can be examined as part of group membership are local norms and expectations of what counts as being students and teachers to this group. For example, in their work on a substitute teacher "breaking a culture," Collins and Green (1992) illustrated how the classroom interactions and expectations shifted when a substitute teacher attempted to enter the culture, without knowledge of the referential system that had been constructed by the members. When she inadvertently used a wrong term for one of the units they had been studying, her error marked her as an outsider and caused some minor disruption among the members.

The consequences may not have been great in this particular example. However, in another example over two days, Collins and Green illustrated how the imposition of a new set of norms and expectations (e.g., change of discipline procedures, ways of doing assignments, ways of participating, etc.) from a substitute teacher caused major disruption of

classroom life. When the regular teacher returned, the students complained about the ways in which their lives had been disrupted by the substitute. The teacher indicated that this particular substitute would not be asked back again to their classroom.

Thus membership in a culture such as a classroom is not guaranteed by the institutional role that one takes up within the setting. When a new student enters an ongoing classroom, s/he has a dilemma similar to the first example of the substitute who did not know the correct referential system. For a new student this can be quite disconcerting (Green & Dixon, 1993). That is, when the rest of the class members understand what “do notetaking in your learning log” means, a new member may be trying to grasp all of the implications of that one statement. For example, in the classroom studied for this dissertation, that seemingly simple statement “do notetaking in your learning log” indicated particular ways of being a student that a new member might not understand. In this case it meant that a student would have to do all of the following: (a) take a particular notebook out from your desk, (b) turn to a particular section in that notebook, (c) draw a line down the middle of the page, (d) label the left column Notetaking and the right column Notemaking, (e) enter notes on the left column only, and (f) realize that

these particular notes must be only what you observe in a situation rather than writing down an interpretation. This is a tremendous amount of information contained in one small phrase, enough to baffle a new student if the teacher had not established the norm of members welcoming and informing new students about life in their classroom community. This is also an example of a sort of common knowledge (Edwards & Mercer, 1987) that is established in classrooms, which is the next construct I address.

Common Knowledge

As we saw in the construct *classrooms acting as cultures*, part of the notion of viewing classrooms as such is that they construct patterned ways of being, thinking and perceiving (Collins & Green, 1992). It can also be said, then, that they construct a patterned or common knowledge such as Edwards & Mercer (1987) have conceptualized. They have defined common knowledge as the joint understanding that is constructed within as well as outside of the classroom setting. Examining a fund of common knowledge entails classroom research that makes visible what is constructed in and through the interactions of classroom participants, and how that knowledge is talked and acted into being

(Green & Dixon, 1993). A similar construct to common knowledge is the notion of intersubjectivity, which I examine in accordance with the constructs of intertextuality (Bloome, 1989; Bloome & Bailey, 1992; Bloome & Egan Robertson, 1993), and intercontextuality (Floriani, 1993; Floriani & Putney, forthcoming).

Conceptualizing Intersubjectivity

The notion of intersubjectivity is one important construct that is inherent in the notion of the zone of proximal development. If we consider that learning takes place when teachers and students interact through the mediational means of a common language, then the intersubjective space would refer to the area in which the participants begin to reach a shared understanding of the concepts. It is that point at which the personal transformation begins as students take up the ideas and make them their own. Wertsch (1985) explains intersubjectivity as the point when two speakers “create a temporarily shared social world”... through “semiotically mediated negotiation” (p. 161). That is to say speakers come together into a communicative context, even though they do not necessarily share background knowledge or the same perspectives, but

are able to jointly construct a shared meaning through their language in use.

Other explanations of intersubjectivity range from a notion of a shared social world (Kozulin, 1990), to a mutual understanding or common knowledge (Crook, 1994; Edwards & Mercer, 1987; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988), and a process of negotiation of meanings (Kozulin, 1990). In his work, Wertsch has studied what constitutes intersubjectivity, the "shared social world...between a child and an adult through the process of the negotiation of meanings" (Kozulin, 1990 p. 170). In this respect, Wertsch has named the process of intersubjectivity as what occurs in the talk. However, what is needed is a way to examine and understand how intersubjectivity is accomplished. Also, the work of Wertsch deals mainly with studies of dyads, and typically between mothers and young children.

If we move our study of intersubjectivity to the classroom then we can begin to make visible through analysis of the discourse, "what the participants jointly construct in their talk and actions, and thus, how practices associated with being literate in that classroom come into being" (Putney, 1996, p. 130). In this work, I incorporate additional key constructs from Interactional Ethnography and social constructionist

perspectives to conceptualize how intersubjectivity is socially accomplished in the classroom. Thus intersubjectivity takes on a broader scope and becomes more than dyadic as it includes the interactions and negotiations of meanings between all participants in varying configurations of interactional spaces (Heras, 1993) which shift and move within an instructional activity.

Interactional Spaces

The notion of interactional spaces from Heras, (1993) is a key element to this study of individual within collective development. As I earlier established, in order to understand the relationship of the developing collective and individual, we must examine how the members of the collective come to negotiate shared understandings and common knowledge.

In interactive classrooms, different organization patterns of interaction may be utilized in order to distribute the roles and relationships as well as the academic content being constructed. The notion of interactional spaces makes visible these patterns. Heras (1993) defines interactional spaces as having:

several distinguishing features: organizational pattern, time, physical space, and purpose. Interactional spaces are constructed by members of a group interacting in a

particular place, at particular moments in time, and with particular configurations of participants (e.g., whole class, table group, pairs, individuals). (p. 279)

These interactional spaces can be multiple and co-occurring. For example, students can be attending to what is happening at their particular table while they are also listening to whole class instructions from the teacher. In their table groups, students can be talking in pairs and overhearing (Larson, 1995) what another pair is saying. A teacher can address a particular student in a public voice with a message that is intended for others in the whole class to hear and take up.

Interactional spaces are dynamic and purposeful, and the interactions that take place among, between, and within said spaces may be confusing for an outsider or one who is uninitiated to such interactional structures (Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992b). However, in classrooms where students and teachers expect such interactive dialogues to occur, and intentionally construct them together, the learning taking place within those interactional spaces is part of the culture of that classroom. Therefore, students and teacher can be slotting in and out of multiple interactional spaces as needed to accomplish the interactive discourse in which they are engaged, and it is through this discourse that common understanding or intersubjectivity is

being constructed. This notion begins to tease out the importance of examining classroom discourse to come to an understanding of intersubjectivity. However, we still need to examine how this is interactionally accomplished in the actions combined with the talk. Thus the notions of intertextuality and intercontextuality become integral to this study in this space and time.

Creating Intersubjectivity Through Establishing Intertextual and Intercontextual Relationships

This view of intersubjectivity, which I am defining as the realization of composing shared meanings through the discursive system (i.e., the language constructed through the actions of classroom participants), is comprised of other constructs which are equally important in making visible what constitutes the shared meanings, and in examining how they are talked into being through the discursive system. The constructs in particular that I will address in this section are intertextuality and intercontextuality. In the analysis Chapters 4 and 5, I will examine the data in light of these constructs to make visible how they help construct a view of intersubjectivity.

The notion of intertextuality drawn on in this respect was proposed by Bloome and colleagues (Bloome, 1989; Bloome & Bailey, 1992;

Bloome & Egan Robertson, 1993), who have expanded work of text based scholars to show how intertextuality is socially constructed through language events. Bloome (1989) first argued that "juxtaposing texts, at whatever level, is not in itself sufficient for intertextuality. Intertextuality is a social construction" (p. 1). Besides being socially constructed and interactionally accomplished, Bloome and Egan-Robertson (1993) establish criteria for recognizing an intertextual relationship as one that "is proposed, is recognized, is acknowledged, and has social significance" (p. 311).

In other words, as classroom members interact and interweave their texts, which can be oral, aural, visual or written, (Green & Meyer, 1991), they also construct a cultural system and attach significance to what they bring forward to compare and contrast. This notion of intertextuality has also been adapted by Jennings (1996b). While Bloome and colleagues conceptualized intertextuality in microethnographic discourse, Jennings has expanded the notion to consider the intertextual ties in classroom communities which are constructed over time. Thus Jennings takes the construct beyond the original moment by moment interactions to examine what is constructed intertextually over time.

Building from this work on intertextuality, Floriani (1993) first introduced *intercontextuality* as part of a larger argument that students and teachers negotiate the nature of everyday life in classrooms. This is a related but separate process that serves particular purposes for members when negotiating meaning and constructing the texts of everyday life. In her work, Floriani (1993) discussed the notion that context² is more than environment, setting or even people in a particular setting. As a bilingual speaker (Spanish and English), she recognized in Spanish that, "contexto" can be read as joining "con" (meaning with") and "texto" (meaning "text"), thus implying a relationship between an actor and a text. This way of looking at context led to conceptualizing context as a way (or ways) of "being with" and having a relationship to/with text.

To illustrate intercontextuality, Floriani (1993) made visible how students, in writing a history of an island at the end of a two and one half month cycle of activity, invoked previous events, and the actions taken and practices used, to construct a new text of these events. Further, she showed how prior contexts, and the actions, practices, and texts situated within them, became resources for members (Floriani, 1993; Floriani, 1997; Floriani & Putney, forthcoming).

² Context is defined here using the classic definition proposed by Erickson, 1981 which builds on work by McDermott, 1976 and Mehan 1977: "contexts are constituted by *what people are*

From this perspective then, through intertextual and intercontextual referents, members signal to each other what they are doing, how they are interpreting a local event, what knowledge and practices they are using to frame their participation and interactions within a local event, and what texts and practices count as resources for an event being constructed. Intercontextuality, like intertextuality, is visible in the language used by members, in the resources they draw on, and in the ways they interact cross time and events. In examining these constructs, intercontextuality must also be recognized, acknowledged, interactionally accomplished and socially significant to members (Bloome, 1989; Bloome & Bailey, 1992; Bloome & Egan Robertson, 1993).

Examining a Discursive System

To examine the patterns of practice over time and the dynamic between group construction and personal take up, I draw on the notion articulated by Hicks (1995), that a community of learners is a type of speech community in which academic content, social relationships, and social practices are constructed over time. When classrooms are viewed as speech communities (Gumperz, 1982; Hymes, 1974), the language,

contexts, practices and patterns of everyday life established and agreed upon by members of a particular class can be seen as shaping an interpretive and discursive system for that class. This discourse system shapes and is shaped by the "common knowledge" (Edwards & Mercer, 1987) that members construct as they interact on a moment-by-moment, day-by-day basis.

Through the discursive system, members come to share common referents and a common language about their experiences. As noted earlier, Vygotsky (1978; 1986) referred to this as intersubjectivity, an integral part of the zone of proximal development. The participants construct meaning through their interactions together, developing common constructs and a language to explain and define these constructs. This notion of a common language has also been referred to as a *language of the classroom* (Lin, 1993), which is a situated language constructed through common practice as opposed to a more general language system which members bring from outside to the classroom when they first enter.

While many linguistic analyses examine oral systems and practices, Fairclough's (1993) conceptualization of Critical Discourse analysis includes written texts and the communicative practices that

produce texts as elements of discourse. Fairclough argued that texts provide physical evidence of discourse choices that writers or speakers select from a range of discourses available.

Building from the work of Fairclough (1993), where he claimed that readers and hearers of messages are positioned by discourse, Ivanic (1994) asserted that writers are likewise "positioned by the discourse(s) they draw on as they write" (p. 4) in and through the discourse choices they make in their writing. These discourse choices that writers make refer to: (a) the physical language they wrote on the page, (b) the unconscious decisions based on the actual context in which they were writing, particularly their anticipation of how their actual readers would respond, and (c) the range of discourses available in the socio-cultural context (p. 5). Writing then becomes a piece of physical evidence that can be examined in order to see the range of discourses made available to the writer, and how the writing reflects a particular discourse or discourses selected by the writer.

Analysis of written artifacts (i.e., a physical text) from this bilingual classroom makes visible the language demands and language take up of the writers as they socially inscribe their world. Because the artifacts addressed in this study were reflexive pieces, they provide insight into

the discourse system (the language and actions of the classroom) through which these texts were shaped. As noted by Ivanic (1994), the discourse choices of writers are mainly unconscious and multiple identities are "constructed for them (writers), not only through what they have said but also through the discourses they have participated in to say it" (p. 5).

Building from Ivanic, I agree that writers can be positioned by the discourse in which they participate. However, I maintain that writers take a more active role in constructing these discourses and, in the case of reflexive texts, they take up and inscribe multiple identities through the choices that they make as they reflect on and interact with texts of classroom life. Therefore, reflexive writings (i.e., community essays) provide students with opportunities to look back on their work across the year to describe what is involved in being a member of their classroom community and what sets this community apart from previous classroom communities. Given this perspective on writing, I argue that these texts provide evidence of the students' active take up of the discursive practices of this classroom, and provide the reader with an inscription of their particular world and ways of participating in that world.

Opportunities For Learning

One of the constructs visited earlier in the cite from Souza Lima's is the notion of the "possibilities that are held in the future and that reside in the knowledge fund of the collectivity" (Souza Lima, 1995, p. 449). In terms of the zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978; Vygotsky, 1986) this would refer to the proximal level, or what can be attained by students in collaboration with others. Another way of looking at the possibilities for what can be learned could also be in the conceptualization of *opportunities for learning* (Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group et al., 1995; Tuyay, Jennings, & Dixon, 1995c). As conceptualized by Tuyay, et al., these opportunities for learning are ones that are constructed in and through the discursive system, which

offer the student a chance to interact with information and to make sense of it-in other words, to make the connections between his or her prior knowledge and the incorporation of the new information. (p. 76)

Students have agency then, in choosing to take up (or not) such opportunities to learn academic content. Thus to understand what constitutes these possibilities or opportunities, we must examine what is available in the academic discourse for students to take up and add to their repertoires of knowledge (Kantor et al., 1992).

Consequential Progressions

Thus far I have discussed various constructs from both an Interactional Ethnography frame and a sociocultural-historical frame that are essential for an understanding of collective/individual development. Both frames are needed to conceptualize learning and development as both an individual and collective process. The convergence of these two frames made available my own take up and reconceptualization of another key element in this discussion: consequential progression. I will briefly address this construct here, and will further illustrate it in and through the analysis of findings chapters to follow.

The notion of consequential progression was first brought to my attention through the work of Durán and Szymanski (1996). In their conceptualization of activity in interaction, Durán and Szymanski (1996) note that

as the participants accomplish their social interactions, a procedural representation of activity is constructed and negotiated. This representation is constructed through the participants' initiations and responses to talk based upon the demands of the task and beliefs about the interactional constraints of the social context (p. 5).

That is, as students negotiate the tasks at hand within their peer group, they orient to each other based upon their past negotiations, and in

relation to the eventual progress of their current interaction. Therefore the interaction is a negotiated production with an implicated future and an intertextual past.

The concept of *negotiated production with an implicated future and an intertextual past* is how I expand this construct beyond small group classroom interactions. My claim, which I explore through the analysis of findings in Chapters 4-6, and summarize in Chapter 7, is that through the discursive system (actions and language in use) of this inquiry based classroom, the links between academic activities throughout the year are ongoing and are made explicit through intertextual and intercontextual ties. These ties are made both in reference to past activities and also in relation to what students will be doing in their current and future work. Thus the teacher makes explicit the consequential progression-the intertextual *and intercontextual* past links to current and implicated future activities. Furthermore, what has so far been unexamined is how a particular cycle of activity has *multiple consequential progressionS* within it, and that cycles of activity across the school year have *consequential progressionS* as well.

Summary

In this Chapter I have prepared a conceptual review of literature that builds a theoretical framework for this dissertation. In addition, it is through the conceptual interlacement of perspectives that I am able to explore individual within a collective development. This study combines a social constructionist perspective of learning through an Interactional Ethnographic approach, with a sociocultural-historical view of development of the individual within a collective. In combining these views I elaborate both through the construction of a conceptualization of inquiry-oriented classrooms having consequential progressions within and through their cycles of activity. In the analysis of findings chapters I explore how the progressions are constructed, and what are the consequences of being present (or not) throughout the progressions of classroom academic and discursive practices. In Chapter 3, I make available the methodology that I practiced throughout this dissertation.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology and Setting

In Chapter 1 of this dissertation, I introduced the overall problem to be studied as conceptualizing the relationship of the collective to the individual. I established the conceptual framework necessary to unfold this relationship in Chapter 2. In this chapter, I present the methodology used to explore the problem through the orienting perspective, describe the setting and the participants in the study, and present the overall methodological design.

Interactional Ethnography as Methodological Frame

In the prior chapter I provided arguments for the use of Interactional Ethnography and a social constructionist perspective as an orienting theoretical framework for conducting a classroom-based research study. In this section I explain how this orienting theory shaped the design of this study, data collection, and data analysis.

As I outlined earlier, from a social constructionist perspective, as students and teachers act and interact, they jointly construct what counts

as knowledge in their classroom community. Capturing the complexity of the interactions and social practices of the group, as well as the consequences of those practices for individuals within the group, requires a particular kind of theoretical framework and methodology. Through Interactional Ethnography the researcher can trace *what* actions and practices become patterned ways of being over time, as well as illustrate *how* these patterned practices are crafted in the moment to moment interactions of participants.

Interactional Ethnography provides a theoretical conceptual base comprised, in part, of an orienting theory viewing classrooms as acting as cultures, which stems from the work of cultural anthropologists (Geertz, 1983; Spradley, 1980), applied to classroom settings. This theoretical perspective is combined with a methodological and analytical component of discourse analysis (Green & Wallat, 1979; Green & Harker, 1988; Green & Wallat, 1981; Putney, 1996) from sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982; Gumperz & Hymes, 1986), as applied to classroom interactions.

Interactional Ethnography is both theoretical and methodological in nature. I have already unfolded in Chapter 2 the theoretical background of Interactional Ethnography and its use as an orienting theory for entering classrooms as an ethnographer. In this Chapter, I

explain how I utilized an ethnographic perspective to analyze data from the point of view of members, and to combine the over time analysis with sociolinguistic discourse analyses of the moment by moment construction of classroom interactions.

This particular approach to ethnography provides a basis for exploring a particular setting (a classroom) in which participants come together to socially construct a group (class) within a larger institutional group (school) (Collins & Green, 1992). From this perspective, the patterns of life within a group often become invisible to members, or insiders. This occurs when roles and relationships, norms and expectations, and rights and obligations have become understood and accepted as local everyday practice (Geertz, 1983) by the members of the group. These patterns may not become explicit or visible to members until something happens within the group that calls the practices into question. The goal of the ethnographer then is to continually question and document what is taking place through the interactions of members as they carry out those roles and relationships in their everyday lives. Thus participants can be viewed as acting as a culture in which members construct patterned ways of believing, perceiving, acting, and evaluating (Green, 1983).

In order to accomplish the documentation necessary to identify these patterned ways, the classroom ethnographer must continually revisit life in classrooms through a series of questions as a guiding or orienting perspective: *who can do or say what, to or with whom, when and where, for what purpose, under what conditions, with what outcomes* (Collins & Green, 1992; Green & Meyer, 1991). At the same time the researcher can apply the following criteria adapted from Bloome and Egan-Robertson (1993) to maintain an emic point of view. The patterns identified should be *proposed, recognized, and acknowledged*, as being *socially significant* through the interactional accomplishments of members.

These questions also allow the researcher to move between *what* is being constructed over time and what is occurring during a moment in time. The over time analysis process makes visible the patterned ways of being that are constructed by participants through their actions and interactions with texts and with each other. The moment to moment sociolinguistic discourse analysis makes visible *how* these patterns of actions, interactions, and texts are talked or enacted into being (Green & Dixon, 1993; Tuyay et al., 1995b).

Setting and Participants

In this section I provide a description of the process of gaining access. I follow this with a description of the elementary school and classroom setting of the study. The description of the school and is provided to give a sense of the environment in which I participated as ethnographer and classroom community member.

Beginning a Relationship and Gaining Access

One of the key issues in conducting an ethnographic study is obtaining access to the site and to data (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1992; Zaharlick & Green, 1991). This issue is not merely one of getting inside a place to observe people. The issue of access is also one of developing relationships with the members of the group with which you intend to engage in research. The degree and type of membership depends on the relationships you construct along the way.

For example, the work that I had done early on with the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group eventually led to my ethnographic study of the Tower Community (see Table 3. 1). In my first year (1993-94), I learned about Beth's classroom through the work that I did with a prior researcher, Ana Floriani on a presentation of the data from their

work. I also interviewed Beth concerning how she and her team teacher, Irene, had conducted a parent night meeting, which was the focus of a study that I conducted with another graduate student for a class.

In the following year (1994-95) I conducted a study of a seventh grade classroom at another school. However, I continued to be involved with the McKinley elementary teachers and researchers through conferences, and through my work as an ethnographer for the Gevirtz On-Site Homework project. The work that I did in the seventh grade study led to a presentation and paper at the Australian Reading Association conference in the summer of 1995. Beth was also presenting at the conference, and we talked then about the possibility of my entering her class in the fall of 1995-96 as her "resident university researcher."

Table 3. 1
Developing Relationships And Points of Gaining Access

1993-94	1994-95	SUMMER 1995
• joined SBCDG • worked on Parent Participation Project with Janet Chrispeels • work with Ana Floriani, researcher in Beth's classroom, to do AERA presentation in her place • interview Beth and team teacher, Irene, for Parent Night data analysis for NRC proposal	• research in 7th grade classroom for second-year project • began work as researcher for Gervitz On-Site Homework Center at McKinley • ongoing work at conference presentations throughout the year with McKinley teachers and researchers from Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group (NCTE, NABE, CAFE, AERA, NRC)	• traveled to Australia, presented work at ARA Conference, where Beth also presented with Judith Green • negotiated entry into Beth's classroom to collect "first days of cycles" data for the upcoming school year

Because of her affiliation with the research team, Beth knew about my work. Likewise I had become familiar with her classroom practices through her writing, presentations, and my collaboration with other researchers in her classroom. Therefore entry into this classroom was more easily gained from my own historicity with the teacher and research team than might otherwise have been the case. However, this was just a preliminary entry point. As noted earlier, entry and access in ethnographic studies is an ongoing process of building relationships with members. This relationship only begins with the first entry into the classroom as I will demonstrate in the next section.

***Developing and Maintaining
Relationships Through Points of
Continuing Access***

The ethnographic inquiry and exploration with members of this classroom began before I actually entered the classroom, as I showed in the previous section. This research took place across two years (see Table 3. 2). In the first year I collected data through videotaping, interviews, and sampling student artifacts. The first column of Table 3. 2 shows a sampling of entries into Beth's classroom throughout the year (1995-96) rather than a record of the whole. My intent here was to give a sense of entry as being ongoing, and not to give a comprehensive listing of the entry points for data collection. The section on data gives a more detailed description of the actual times in which I entered the classroom for data collection. Entry also has to do with establishing relationships with members of the site in which the research takes place. My work in an after school homework center, and my participation in events outside of the classroom (e.g., filming the school play and fifth grade graduation from the prior year), helped to craft such relationships. Thus my relationship with the staff, teachers and students in this school was continually being constructed and shaped through a variety of activities.

Table 3. 2

Developing and maintaining relationships through points of continuing access

1995-96	1996-1997
• entered first day of school • continued as researcher for Homework Center • reentered on first day of Island History Project • filmed Island History Presentations • first day of the Colonies cycle, filmed presentations of Colonies Essays • first day of Sem II (Jan 1996) • filmed Tolerance Focus, entire cycle • presented with Judith Green and Richard Durán at Vygotsky conference in Chicago (Feb, '96) • identification of student to follow across the year through portfolios and other data analysis (April, '96) • conducted interviews • filmed Americana Museum Cycle (May, '96) • filmed portfolio presentations	• became ethnographer and fellow for South Coast Writing Project summer institute (June - July, '96) • presented with Judith Green at Piaget/Vygotsky conference in Geneva (September, '96) • constructed theoretical framework of Interactional Ethnography and sociocultural/historical perspective (October, '96) • presented Areli as telling case at NCTE, attended Beth's presentation at same conference (November, '96) • presented mapping methodology in Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group meeting (January, '97) • presented at AERA (March, '97) • final analyses and writing dissertation (March - July, '97)

While I organized and did preliminary analysis of the data during the year that I was also collecting data ('95-'96), the major analytical work took shape throughout the following year. During that year I revised and confirmed hypotheses about the data with Beth and other researchers, as I continued to construct and revise mappings of particular days that were to be used specifically for the dissertation. These research connections continued throughout the year as we informed each other and shaped the construction of the representation of data and constructs for the

dissertation. During the second year I presented the findings at various conferences, which helped me to refine the methodological representation of the data. Through this work I also constructed and reconceptualized the theoretical framework. This particular work of ethnographic classroom research, from a co-expertise model of sharing and conceptualizing with the members of the classroom, extended beyond entry into and departure from the field. It encompassed much more than data collection and analysis as it became a way of developing and maintaining relationships with the school, and with other researchers as well.

School Community of McKinley

The drive to this community elementary school from any direction is a scenic one as it is located on the Mesa, a coastal plateau overlooking the Pacific Ocean below. As a visitor walking up the front entrance to the school, you are greeted with the pungent aroma of eucalyptus trees, one of the trademarks of the city of Santa Barbara.

In front of the school, prominently positioned where bus drivers and parents drop-off and pick up their children, stands a sign board. This board displays, in both Spanish and English, the coming events of

importance to this school. In September the board welcomes all students and teachers to the school. October announcements include back to school night and a Halloween party. In November and December, holiday schedules appear along with best wishes for the holiday season. In January a welcome back sign beckons students back from winter vacations. February announces parent conferences, while the month of March proudly proclaims the coming of the school bilingual play. April heralds the coming of Spring, and the month of May declares a Mother's Day dance celebration. In June the pride of the school comes into play with the announcement of the fifth grade graduation. One can sense the excitement and a tinge of sadness as these students leave their McKinley family and move on to another school and a very different life ahead. Thus as the seasons change, so does the signboard, marking the school year with key events that are meaningful moments in the lives of the community of learners inside these stucco walls.

The school has been refurbished since its original construction in 1932. After being closed for a time due to lowered enrollment in the 1970's, McKinley reopened in 1986 with a new principal, Dr. Juanita Carney, and 198 students. Dr. Carney was chosen specifically for her work with parental involvement, a key issue in the reformation of this

school as a community-based school within the Santa Barbara school district. Gradually the enrollment increased as new grade levels were added each year and the school functioned as a K-6 school with two Santa Barbara Preschool classes for three and four year old children until 1993. A change in the school district plan moved the sixth graders from McKinley to a nearby middle school, and McKinley resettled into a K-5 bilingual school.

The enrollment of the school during the year that I collected data on site (1995-1996) was 520 students. The ethnic and linguistic diversity (see Figure 3. 1) is reflective of the community it serves, the Lower West Side of Santa Barbara. The majority of the students in this school are of Hispanic origin (84%), and nearly 80% of the school participates in a reduced lunch program

The Tower

In this section I will lead you through the classroom, pointing out various features that make this classroom unique. I have provided a mapping of the room to enhance the description (see Figure 3. 2). The Tower Community is so named because the classroom is situated in the bell tower of McKinley Elementary school. Once inside the front door of

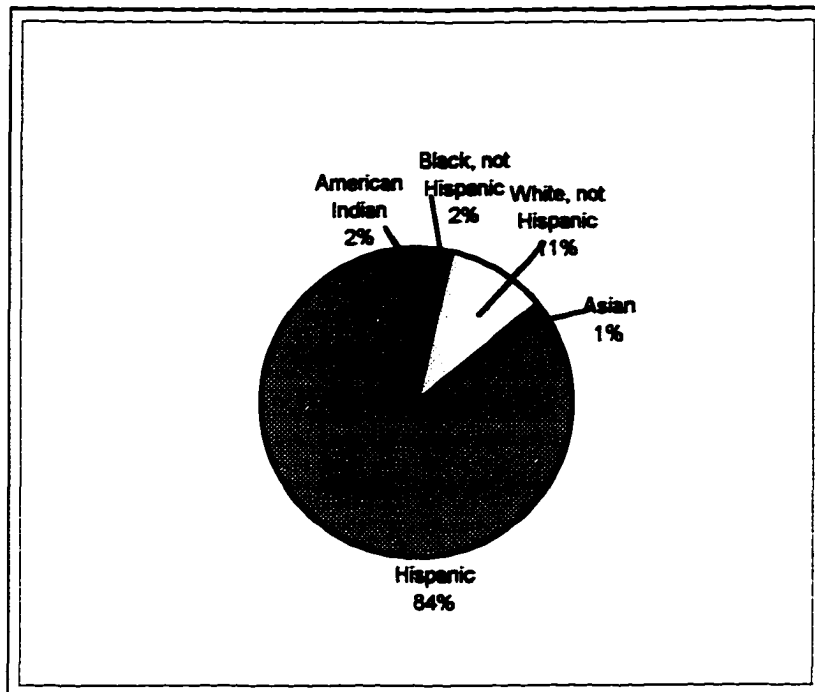


Figure 3. 1. *Demographics of McKinley Elementary School*

the school, the fifth graders in Beth's classroom wind their way up a stone staircase that leads to their classroom. From the staircase participants enter the main classroom by walking first through an outer room called the Gallery by class members. On the first day of school the walls leading up the stairs, in the Gallery, and in the classroom are noticeably bare. However, as the year progresses all of these walls were embellished with student artwork, photographs, and written text.

The feature of the Tower that first caught my attention, on entering the classroom proper, was the bank of windows along the entire length of

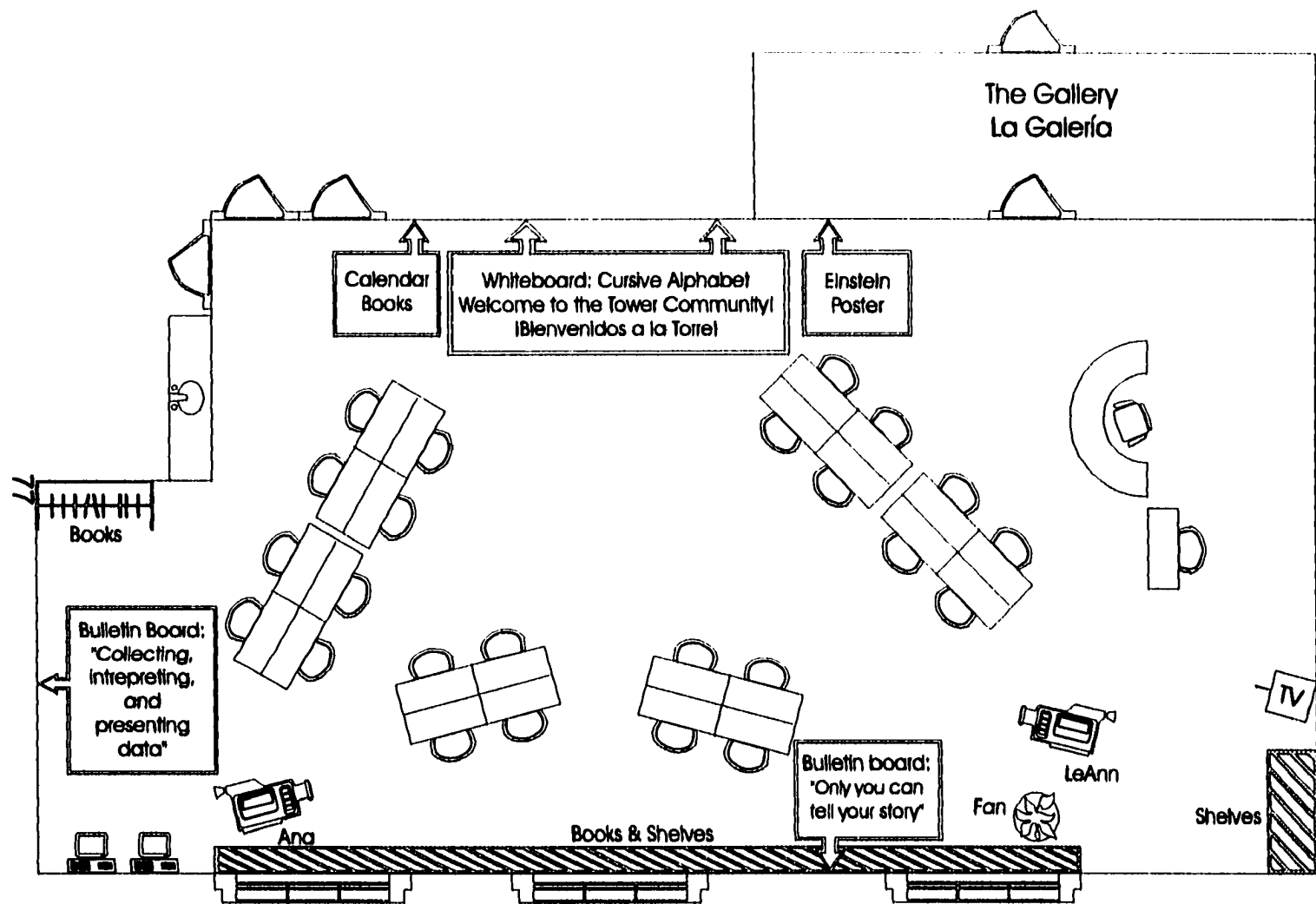


Figure 3. 2. Mapping of physical features of the Tower Community classroom

the room that overlook the grounds of the school. Below the windows inside the classroom is a built-in 2 foot high storage cabinet that runs the entire length of the room, providing a place where books can be prominently displayed. This area also became a place to display the autobiography exhibits and showcase portfolios later in the year. In the middle of that wall, between the windows, is a large bulletin board with a banner across the top proclaiming, "Only you can tell your story" (in English and Spanish). The remainder of the bulletin board is empty. The banner across the top foreshadowed what would later occur: the board was to be progressively covered with stories from the members of this classroom community.

On the front part of the room, opposite the windows, is a white board proclaiming its first message of the school year: "Welcome to The Tower Community! Bienvenidos a la Torre!" To the far right side of the room is another bulletin board with the message, "Collecting, interpreting and presenting data." This section on the right side of the room is called the Library because one wall is entirely covered in shelves filled with books.

This area has many uses besides being the place for students to self-select reading materials for their daily silent reading. The Library

also contains the two computers that occupy a space in front of the row of windows opposite the bookshelves. This section of the room transforms into a meeting place for book clubs, an area where the teacher and students sit together for reading stories aloud, and discussions about issues in the school and in the Tower community.

In the middle of the room are six sets of four or five desks each, forming a sort of semicircle facing the front of the room. Each set of desks is situated so that the desks form a table group of students who will work together throughout the year. As the students enter the classroom on the first day they sit wherever they choose. Later the teacher, Beth, assigns the seating to ensure that each group has at least one bilingual student and that the English and Spanish dominant students are mixed together in the groups. In interviews with the teacher she indicated that this heterogeneous grouping is deliberate on her part to ensure equity of access for all students in this community. Her expectation is that they will help each other and seek *each other* as resources for learning as they work together throughout the school year, rather than always looking to their teacher as *the* resource.

The class was composed of 22 students on the first day of school. This composition shifted throughout the year as three students entered

after the beginning of school, one student moved away, and another student left for several months and returned. The configuration (see Table 3. 3) is representative of the grouping in the second semester of school, during which the major part of the study occurred. This grouping also represents the students who were in attendance at the end of the year when they wrote their community essays, which are featured in Chapter 6.

Table 3. 3
Classroom composition by linguistic designation and gender

STUDENTS DEFINED AS	5TH GRADE MS. YEAGER
English dominant	5
Spanish dominant	9
Portuguese dominant	1
Bilingual	9
Males	12
Females	13

The Teacher(s)

Beth Yeager is a bilingual classroom teacher (English and Spanish) who had been teaching at McKinley for nine years at the time of this study. Prior to her work at McKinley, Beth had been a head teacher and bilingual classroom teacher in a local preschool for sixteen years. In addition she has taught as an instructor at the local community college in

Early Childhood Education. She is a fellow of the South Coast Writing Project, and has taught in the project's summer young writer's camp for several years at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Beth also has collaborated extensively with various members of the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, through publications and presentations with them (and with some of her colleagues at McKinley as well) at national and international conferences (e.g., National Council for Teachers of English, California Association for Bilingual Education, National Reading Conference, American Educational Research Association, and Australian Reading Association Conference in Sydney, and National Council for Teachers of English World Conference in Heidelberg).

At times during the course of the year of study, other adults also took up a role of teacher in the classroom. The instructional aide, Shelly, often led one reading group through their core literature readings, while Beth worked with another. Barry was a student teacher in the Tower Community for the first semester, and Elena entered the community as a student teacher during second semester, and took up the role of teacher for two weeks in the spring. One of the fifth grade teachers, Irene, team taught with Beth by switching classrooms two afternoons a week. While

Irene came to the Tower Community to teach natural science, Beth went to Room 18 to focus on social science with Irene's students.

The Researchers and Research History of Beth's Classes

Having university researchers in the Tower Community was not a unique concept when I entered in the 1995-96 school year, since Beth had participated in ethnographic studies in her classroom since 1991. Having such a history to draw on was advantageous for me as a researcher, since I had access to prior data and some of the researchers themselves from prior years. For example, this access served as a resource in the design of the study, since I was able to determine which days to enter in order to chart the beginnings of cycles. Also the prior studies and talks with the previous researchers served as a type of triangulation as I moved through the research and analysis process (although they were not the only source, as will be discussed further in the data analysis section).

On the first day of class, and on various other days during the first semester, two researchers from the university entered the Tower Community with me: Judith Green, a professor, and Ana Floriani, a fellow graduate student and prior researcher in this classroom (see

(Yeager et al., 1996), for a discussion of the process in a previous year). From the beginning we were positioned by Beth as community members from the university, and researchers who *a/so* studied communities through ethnography, much as the students would be doing throughout the year.

During the second semester of school, a visiting Fulbright scholar from Norway, Hildegunn, entered the classroom with me for a day and stayed for the remainder of the semester. She focused her work on what counts as listening, and she shared the work as resident ethnographer with me. My own role shifted at that time with the beginning of the Tolerance Focus, a project related to issues of social justice through a study of the Holocaust (Yeager, Pattenau, Franquiz, & Jennings, in press), for an initial discussion of this area of study, and (Jennings, 1996a), for a description of this study of social justice in Irene Pattenau's room). Although Beth had originated the study, it was now a part of the fifth grade curriculum. Both Hildegunn and I were interested in continuing the research through in-depth data collection at this point through this project.

Design of the Study

The data in this study is a component of a larger corpus of data belonging to the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group. Since ethnographers have been in Beth's classroom since 1991, the patterns of interaction of this teacher and her students have been well documented across the years (Brilliant-Mills, 1993; Floriani, 1993; Floriani, 1997; Fránquiz, 1996; Green & Yeager, 1995; Heras, 1993; Tuyay et al., 1995a; Yeager et al., 1996).

Therefore, in the initial design of this study, I chose to take up an ethnographic perspective (Green & Bloome, 1995), and take a focused look at what is set into motion at particular points in the school year. Specifically I focused on the beginning of previously identified cycles of activity during the Fall of 1995. I then entered for an extended period in the second semester (January through June of 1996). This approach contrasts with that used in previous years, where the ethnographers entered the classroom for the first three weeks of school and focused primarily on processes and practices in the first semester (see (Fránquiz, 1996) for an exception).

The Interactive-Responsive Process: Evolving Design

Documentation of the beginnings of the cycles of activity for this school year were undertaken to examine what was being formulated by the teacher as opportunities for learning cultural practices (Tuyay et al., 1995b) to be taken up and reformulated by the students. Periodic visits across cycles of activity were made to document the development of the collective, and the establishment of common knowledge (Edwards & Mercer, 1987) through the cultural practices and processes. However, in revisiting the classroom throughout the year, the design of the study took on a life of its own and was shaped and reshaped in and through the interactions of the research participants. As is common to interpretive studies, the more general questions with which I initiated this study become more focused as I visited the data and revisited the site (Spradley, 1980).

Documenting Collective Development

The initial process of examining the relationship of an individual's development within that of the collective meant that I had to look for evidence of how the collective develops over time. An example of such evidence would be analyzing the common referents which members of

the collective would use during their interactions. Lin (1993) conceptualized these common referents as a *language of the classroom*. This is similar to the notion from Edwards and Mercer (1987) of creating common knowledge.

However, the conceptualization of language of the classroom extends beyond the constructing of shared ideas. In this sense, the collective actually develops together a language that is shared among members, and is not readily understood by outsiders. An example of this was discussed in Chapter 2 when I explained what was actually meant by "record this in your learning logs." This phrase had particular meanings to members of the community and particular consequences for those who did not understand how to take up the practices inferred in that phrase.

Other such pieces of evidence that were visible across time were intertextual (Bloome, 1989; Bloome & Bailey, 1992; Bloome & Egan Robertson, 1993) and intercontextual (Floriani, 1993) references made by members. An example of an intertextual tie would be making a comparison between the actions of a character in one story with actions of a character in another story. An example of intercontextuality occurred when members made reference to a context of practice that had been previously constructed. On the first day of school they conducted a

particular inquiry practice of being observers. They referred to that practice on a later date as a sort of shorthand to say that they should observe in the same way that they did, *like in the Watermelon Problem*. In this reference they were invoking the actions and ways of being with text that they took during the prior event, and were applying them to the present activity.

In making intertextual and intercontextual referents explicit students showed that they took up the practices, internalized the processes, and were able to apply those processes and practices in new situations. Identifying these processes makes it possible to show that intertextual and intercontextual referents were recognized, acknowledged, interactionally accomplished and socially significant (Bloome & Bailey, 1992). In other words, these processes were cultural resources that members drew upon to construct and signal what counted as knowing, doing, perceiving, and believing across time and events in their life world.

Documenting Individual Development

An occurrence late in the school year narrowed the selection of an individual student to use to explore collective/individual development.

This particular student left the community in November and returned in early April. It was her reentry into the community that brought to my attention the difficulty in making a transition from former insider to “outsider insider” to community member once again. Focusing on this particular student in the study made visible the consequences of being part of the collective for this individual student and also of having missed part of the time the collective had together.

Phases of the Study and Research Questions

The recursive nature of ethnographic research led to a multidimensional research design. The first part of the study focuses broadly on the Tower community from the point of view of the participants in the community. In this segment of the study, the purpose was to examine the practices and processes developed by the collective. This analysis, explained in Chapter 4, puts in place a macro view of the classroom community and the formulation of cultural practices of the collective through a focus on the teacher and what she made available. I selected key events from across representative days to examine the questions: (a) How does the teacher construct opportunities for learning by formulating patterns of practice? and (b) What roles do the social and

cultural actions and practices play in the development of the Tower collective?

The second segment of the study, discussed in Chapter 5, examines the relationship of collective/individual development through the actions of one student. As I noted in Chapter 1, the account of Areli's departure from and reentry into the community is a telling case (Mitchell, 1984) of personal development and student take-up of opportunities to learn academic content in the classroom. By focusing on this student, juxtaposing the timeline of her academic year with that of the collective, I make visible what opportunities were available to be taken up (Tuyay et al., 1995c), and in what ways she was able to reestablish herself as community member. This dimension of the study, examines the questions: (a) What cultural resources does a student draw on to reenter an ongoing classroom community? (b) How does a student take up opportunities for learning in reentering an ongoing community of learners? and (c) What are consequences for individuals and the collective when a member leaves and reenters a community?

The final dimension of the study, which is depicted in Chapter 6, revisits the collective development by examining the discursive system of the classroom through an analysis of that development as inscribed in

textual artifacts. The analysis in this section will examine student community essays, and theoretically sampled segments of classroom discourse. Through such analysis I provide answers to the questions: (a) What counts as community to members? and (b) What do students inscribe as cultural processes and practices of their classroom community?

Data Collection

In the prior section I described the rationale for my data sampling and how the design of the study became multidimensional, leading to the examination of three aspects of the Tower Community: (a) the development of the collective, (b) an individual reentering the collective, and (c) individuals' take up within the collective. Data collection in all three phases consisted of videotaping, collecting artifacts, interviewing, and constructing field notes.

Videotaping

Across the year I video taped classroom interactions. Because I had access to two cameras, I was able to place one camera at the back of the room with a wide angle lens to capture as much of the collective interaction as possible. A second camera with a regular lens was used to

focus in on smaller groups of students, either from the other side of the room, or from the front of the room. This gave me two different angles of vision to work with in viewing an activity. It was also useful when the class work required students to shift into small groups in separate parts of the room.

The cameras were not limited to taping classroom activities only, but were also used to film lunch or after school interviews with teachers and students. While every attempt was made to capture the discussions with external microphones, I found that there were limitations to what the microphone could capture. In some cases, even the radio controlled microphone held by a student was not enough to amplify the voices of the quietest students.

Fieldnotes

I recorded field notes in a spiral notebook, leaving a margin on the left for recording interpretations, questions, or reminders for myself. I also represented a mapping of the room, and seating arrangements, particularly if they had changed since the prior visit. At times other researchers entered the field with me and helped to set up the cameras.

If they took field notes I obtained a copy of their notes to use as a type of verification of my own notes.

Having a second note taker is similar to viewing the same event from two camera angles. The two angles of vision offer different ways of looking at the “same” phenomenon. For example, at times I could use the second camera to focus in on what particular individuals were doing, while still maintaining a wider focus on the actions of the collective. Likewise, in recording fieldnotes, I found that I tended to record dialogue in my field notes more often than general description of what was happening. Other ethnographers tended to take more general note of what actions were occurring at the time. Both types of notes were useful for different purposes and in different ways. I found it quite helpful to combine the two types of notes, especially when constructing mappings during the analysis phases to get a better overall sense of what occurred during a particular event. (see Appendix A for a sample of the comparative field notes.)

The field notes were also useful in directing me to conduct more thorough analysis of particular events. I could make notes in the left margin as I examine the foot notes, a type of coding of the notes, whenever I noticed an example of collective development, for example.

These notes would direct me to the video tapes that I needed to examine for more detailed analysis and transcription.

Interviews

I informally interviewed students, teachers, and the principal throughout the year. In some cases I was able to videotape the interviews, some were audio taped, and in some cases I utilized “head notes” that I then entered on my computer afterward. These interviews tended to be informal, and they added contextual information to the research.

Artifacts

I collected numerous student artifacts across the year, including copies of writing, drawings, and portfolio selections. I also collected a copy of the teacher’s planning book, which was most helpful in reconstructing a representation of the cycles of activity for which I was not present. I also took still photographs of student art displays, work that was hung in the classroom, and members as they participated in various events in and out of the classroom. I will address the analysis of student essays as artifacts in a later section under data analysis.

Data Analysis

The analyses in this study represent various types and levels of analysis. For example, from the field notes and video tapes I constructed mappings of events to make visible the patterns of practice that members constructed over time. While examples of particular mappings will appear in depth in Chapter 4, I will describe briefly here how the mappings were constructed.

Constructing Event Mappings.

The concept of event mapping in this study is based on work constructed by the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group (1992a; 1992b; 1993; 1995), which was derived from theoretical and methodological works of Spradley (1980), Green and Wallat (1979), Green and Harker (1982), and Green and Meyer (1991). The nature of this analytical work is such that it continues to be reconstructed and reconceptualized in an ongoing dialogic process common to this research collective (cf., Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1995).

Actions of members tied as events.

Events are bounded activities around a particular topic on a given day (e.g., spelling, writing workshop, reading period, math). Events may be **tied** to other events across days or large periods of time. When this occurs, the event becomes part of a **Cycle of activity** (Green, Kantor, & Rogers, 1991). Thus events are analytic units, the size and boundaries of which depend on the question being examined. Each event and subevent consists of phases of coordinated activity. What counts as event or subevent depends on the analytic unit being examined. Viewed analytically each sub-event, when it becomes a focus of study, can analytically become an event to be studied. The definition of event, therefore, is tied to the researcher's unit of focus.

Mapping of an event.

The first example of a mapping from this study, (Table 3. 4), is a segment of the morning on the first day of school, September 7, 1995. This segment illustrates that the mapping begins with the onset of class on the first day. The first column indicates the clock time, beginning at 8:30 a.m. and continuing in five minute increments down the column (see Chapter 4 for complete map and details). I held the time to a consistent

interval of five minutes per line to proportionally illustrate the time spent in each event, and I labeled the times that signified onsets of subevents.

Table 3. 4
Segment of an event mapping of the morning of day one of school

Event	Time	Subevents	Phases
• Event 1: Onset of Community	8:30	• <i>Entering the Tower</i>	• getting settled • Chime as a signal
	8:45	• <i>Welcoming to the Tower</i> • •	• introductions to people and to the Tower Community • what students need to know to be in the Tower • new kids coming in
• Event 2: Name Game	9:20	• <i>Onset</i> •	• finding adjectives for introducing self to group
	9:40	• <i>Practice Introducing</i>	• demo and practice
	9:50	• <i>Playing Name Game</i>	• Pizza Party • playing the Name Game

The events are outlined by a heavy line, separated by a double line, and labeled in the second column. They are divided into subevents, which are further divided into phases of activity. The subevents are labeled in italics in column 3, and their phases are shown as bulleted actions in column 4. In the example provided in Table 3. 4, the first event consists of two separate subevents, *Entering the Tower* and *Welcoming to the Tower*. These subevents are marked by a shift in the actions of the members and the focus of topic.

For example, in the first subevent, the general focus is on the students getting settled in the classroom and decorating their name cards. The focus shifts at 8:45 when the teacher begins to address the whole class by welcoming them to their new community. Another shift in orientation to topic occurs at 9:20 when the teacher introduces an activity called the Name Game, which continues until 10:00.

This example illustrates a level of mapping that first orients the analyst to the overall patterns within a day. Analysis of subsequent daily mappings produce patterns of activity for this particular classroom. This is a first level of analysis, and illustrates the flow of activity across the day. To illustrate activity that extends from one day to another, a second level of mapping is needed. In the next section I illustrate a mapping of a cycle of activity.

Mapping cycles of activity and identifying key events.

For each day observed, maps that were constructed provided a basis for identifying the patterned life of this particular classroom. However, mapping events is not limited to this level of analysis. For example, on the first day of class the teacher explained her expectations that members of this community would become mathematicians, and take

up a role of inquiring the way mathematicians would. This labeling of the actions of students appeared to be socially significant since it was reinvoked throughout the activity of this day and over time in this classroom marking. Such marking indicates that this is a *key event* (Gumperz, 1986), named by members as the Watermelon Problem.

In marking this as a key event, the Watermelon Problem, can be further analyzed as an event in its own right. It happens that this particular event is related to events that continue at particular times across the next three days. Viewed analytically in retrospect, the continuation of this event over time marks it as part of a tied series of events across days, or as a cycle of activity (Green & Meyer, 1991). Thus, across time, related actions tie to constitute an event, and related events tie together to constitute a cycle of activity constructed by members to accomplish a particular curriculum or academic goal (see Brilliant-Mills, 1993 for a discussion of this cycle of activity in the 1991-1992 school year).

For example, analysis across days connects the actions of students observing and recording data as mathematicians (see Figure 3.3). These actions continued during the next week, across two more events, Surveys and an M & M's Investigation. In the Surveys event,

students engaged in preparing surveys of class members, presenting data and charting the results, thus creating intercontextual ties with their actions in the Watermelon Problem.

	Day #													
events	1,	2,	3,	4,	5	6,	7,	8,	9	10,	11,	12,	13,	14
cycles of activity	Watermelon Problem					Surveys				M & M's Investigation				

Figure 3.3. *Intertextually and/or Intercontextually Tied Events Forming Cycles of Activity*

Similar actions were taken up again as students engaged in an investigation of M & M's candies. They brainstormed questions, recorded data, made predictions, and charted their answers about the frequency and recurrence of colors of M & M's candies. Each of these events taken together over the first fourteen days of school (i.e., the Watermelon Problem, Surveys, and M & M's Investigation) form a cycle of activity, linked by the actions of members. The existence of such ties is interactionally accomplished by members through their talk and thus, are socially significant (Bloome & Egan Robertson, 1993).

Intertextual and intercontextual ties are not merely analytic tools; but are also recognized and acknowledged cultural practices that members use to weave together particular dimensions of classroom life. This approach to analytically mapping cycles of activity, can be expanded to illustrate further linking of cycles. As the year progresses,

the analyst determines through the actions and discourse of members that the actions from one set of events, linked as a cycle, contain intertextual and/or intercontextual ties to events that occur later in time. That is, certain actions in a cycle prepare students for actions and practices that they will utilize in a later cycle of activity. This takes the analysis to a more embedded level of mapping, which I illustrate in Figure 3. 4.

For example, in this class the actions and practices of being mathematicians across events in the first 14 days of class can be shown through the ties to be linked through the similar actions of members. In the mapping, then, I have indicated that these events are linked through a cycle of activity labeled *Onset of Investigation* (see Figure 3. 4). I have made the determination of the linkage through backward mapping (Tuyay et al., 1995a) of the actions of the events.

Having analyzed the actions taken by members in a later cycle of activity, the Spaghetti Dinner Investigation, I compared the practices of that activity to those made visible in the prior cycle of the *Onset of Investigation*. Together these two cycles form a larger overall cycle of what is meant by *Inquiring and Investigating as Mathematicians in the Fifth Grade*. The rationale for this tying of events is that all of the events

in this larger cycle contain actions of members which pertain to what was analyzed as inquiring and investigating in this particular fifth grade classroom. These actions and links will be examined and illustrated further in the analysis chapters, as will other examples of mappings from other days and key events.

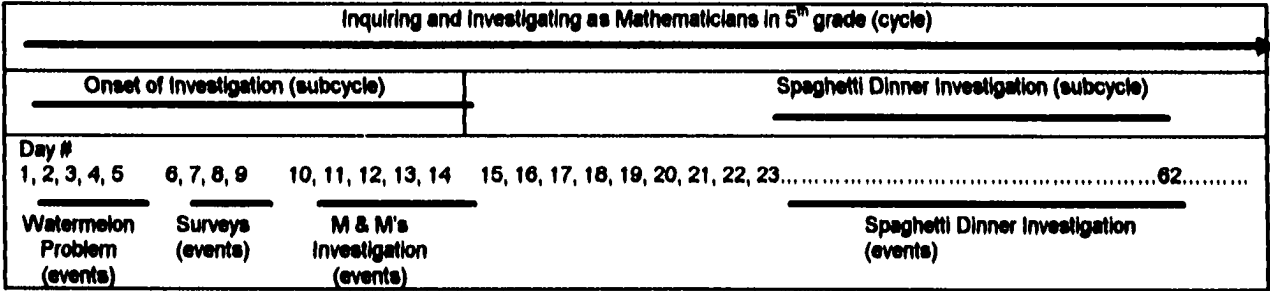


Figure 3. 4. Expanded View of a Cycle of Activity

Actions of members as domain analysis

The work from Spradley (1980) offers one method of categorizing what types of artifacts members utilize as well as what is being accomplished in the actions of members. Spradley's cultural domain, and taxonomic analyses were used to examine who the actors in an event were, what types of artifacts they were constructing, and what was being accomplished during events. I include an example of domain analyses to illustrate how this method begins to unfold the interaction patterns of this particular culture.

For example, in the Saturation Observation event, each of the following terms was used by members during their classroom discussion (see Table 3. 5). In the first column I have constructed a domain analysis of the types of people who are observers in their everyday lives. This was socially significant to members because they were going to become observers in their next activity and the teacher was asking for examples to tie their future actions to actions of professionals who take similar actions in their daily professional lives.

In the second column I have categorized the places that members identified as where observing can occur. Again they are making links to

Table 3. 5
Domain Analyses Constructed of Saturation Observation Event

Domain Analysis X is a kind of Observer	Domain Analysis X is a place to Observe	Domain Analysis X is a thing (one) to Observe
• ethnographer	• this class	• melon
• scientist	• playground	• apple experiment
• mathematician	• Ms. C's class	• bread experiment
• anthropologist	• other classes	• beach
• historian	• at home	• what surrounds you
• artist	• at beach	• life
• writer	• at ballgames	• people
• dancer	•	• everyday life
• actor	•	• scripts
• student	•	• students

what is happening, or could be happening, in their own experience or the experience of others of which they have knowledge. In the third column (see Table 3. 5) are the items that members named as what are things they (or others) or have observed. Again they are making explicit ties to prior events in their experience, both in and out of school. Taken together, these domain analyses begin to make visible what counts as *observing* for these participants.

Thematic Analysis

Another form of examining patterns is in constructing a thematic analysis of artifacts. In this dissertation the most extensive of these was the analysis of the student community essays. These essays were written in May of the school year, and were written by members to describe what

their particular community classroom was like so that outsiders would understand how they lived in the Tower Community during the school year.

This analysis took several forms and levels. First of all I examined the essays using an adaptation of Spradley's (1980) descriptive question matrix (p. 82-83) to determine where the actors placed themselves in relation to the community as a whole. I also examined the essays for what the actors described as their actions in the community, and the consequences of those actions. This type of analysis led to the construction of a matrix of themes that the members wrote about. From this listing of themes I could determine who wrote about which themes, how many wrote about particular themes, and in what ways were they writing about the community that were similar or different. Comparing and contrasting the community essays were an important link in making visible the collective development and an individual's relationship to the collective since Areli's essay provided a contrastive analysis to the collective (see Chapters 5 and 6 for a more complete analysis of the community essays).

Transcription of Talk and Actions

Another form of analysis is a transcription of the classroom discourse. In this dissertation, discourse refers to both talk and actions of participants, and can also include verbal and non-verbal cues. How the transcript is represented depends on the level of analysis used and the purposes for constructing the transcript. Field notes were examined to determine which video tapes I would transcribe in more detail.

Constructing a transcript is itself a theoretical act (Ochs, 1979). What is included, what is left out, and how talk and actions are represented in a transcript is up to the theoretical position of the analyst. The transcripts in this dissertation draw from the work of Green and Wallat (1979; 1981) and a prior work in which I articulated an extension of their work with the addition of an action unit (Putney, 1996). Transcripts are organized by markers (Schiffrin, 1988) and by contextualization cues (Gumperz, 1986) into message units (Green & Wallat, 1979). We utilize markers in talk to establish boundaries, and to mark the finish of one message and the onset of another.

The units are not measured by the words themselves, but the delivery of them. It is in the contextualization cues (intonation, pause structure, stress, etc.) (Gumperz, 1986) that we recognize what is being

signaled as a message. Markers can also be visual, or non-verbal, and are used for signaling shifts in ongoing activity in the classroom. This shift is not a linguistic feature of the language, but a social feature of language. Thus a message unit is a social unit, not syntactic unit (Green & Wallat, 1979). The messages units cluster to form an action within turn, the actions tie together to make a turn, and become part of an interaction. An interaction unit, then, is a chain of action units that include exchange of turns or completed topics within a turn. These interactions are tied by topic to make a sequence unit (Green & Wallat, 1979; Green & Wallat, 1981; Putney, 1996).

The following excerpt serves as a example of how I prepared a transcript for use in the dissertation. There are several levels of work involved by getting the words down on paper or on the computer, unitizing the transcript (indicating the message units, action units, interaction units, and sequence units), then adding in actions of the interactants and preparing the transcript for publication. There are various levels of transcription throughout the dissertation. How the words and actions are displayed depends on the purposes for representation (Green, Franquiz, Dixon, 1997).

In the excerpted transcript from the first day of school (see Table 3. 6), the left column indicates line numbers, which follow the marking of message units. That is, each line = one message unit. The message units that are tied as one action are indicated by a single underline. When the action units tie together as an interaction unit, the interaction unit is indicated by a double underline. That is, all of the action units together before the double underline tie to make an interaction unit. In the far right column I have indicated some of the non-verbal cues with a diamond shaped bullet. The researcher comments, in this case, the references to community development are marked in the right hand column in bold print. In this segment, Beth is making explicit some of the roles and relationships that she expects of community members in this classroom and in relationship to new members.

Table 3. 6Excerpt of transcript from Day One of school

Line#	Actors talk in Message Unit Action Unit; <u>Interaction Unit</u>	Non-verbal Actions / (researcher comments about community development)
041 042 043 044	Beth: todos tienen diario de aprendizaje everybody has learning log written down	Beth is asking a question in Spanish first as she erases the board in one direction, stops, turns and walks back while erasing in other direction, asking similar question in English
045	you know	
046 047 048 049	when we do get more students in here	
050	you have a big job	
051 052 053 054	because you have to help them figure out the things that you've learned	(pause) emphasis on do (reference to future community shift) (indicates responsibility of community members)
055 056 057	in one or two hours already that you've learned	(explains role of members as instructors and the responsibility they have to help new members)
058 059	you have to help all the new kids learn	looks at the clock looks at class, back at clock points to the white board to indicate what they just did to prepare their Learning Logs (Tower members already have insider knowledge)

Triangulation

I have purposely placed triangulation at the end of this chapter as the concept serves multiple purposes and appears throughout this study. Triangulation is a way for the research to check analysis and interpretation of data by various means (Corsaro, 1985; Corsaro, 1992; Denzin, 1989; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1992). For example, I referred to triangulation when I discussed having more than one focused camera in

the room. Viewing both video tapes from the same day, but from differing angles of vision made available a type of cross-check of data and perspective. This was also possible of the field notes when I had another ethnographer researching with me. By using both sets of field notes, I could contextualize one set of notes with the other, offering a more holistic picture than with my notes alone. The video tapes were another obvious source of data that I used in conjunction with the field notes to make an interpretation of what I observed.

Triangulation can also be done between researchers. Because of my work with the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, I had access to researchers who had worked in Beth's classroom in years prior to mine. I also consulted with the researcher who worked with Beth in the year following my year of data collection, and I checked my interpretations with Beth as well. I also discussed my findings with researchers who had not been in Beth's classroom as a way of "checking in" to keep from making claims that could not be substantiated through the research.

Another way of triangulating research is through using different, yet compatible, theoretical perspectives, which I discussed in depth in Chapter 2. This was also a reason for examining the findings with other

researchers. While they might have used the same orienting theory in their research, the other members of the research group did not use the same explanatory theories in their studies. Thus we were able to discuss the findings in different ways

A combination of analytical methodology was another way to check the results of data analysis. For example, I used analysis of transcripts of classroom discourse to examine how findings from analysis of field notes and student artifacts were talked into being (Green & Dixon, 1993) during class discussions. I analyzed the student essays both individually, then in relation to each other to produce a more holistic picture of their community.

Another use of the collective description of the community was to examine this analysis in relation to the telling case of Areli to determine whether her view of community was an exceptional case. I also examined her perspective as inscribed in her essay, in light of Beth's retelling of her own perspective on Areli's departure and return. I further contrasted Areli's actions in a reading circle on her first day back in the community with her actions after her third week back in the classroom community. Thus triangulation through comparison and contrast of artifacts, research perspectives, interpretations from participants and other researchers,

and methods of analysis became part of a reflexive process in this ethnographic research.

Summary

In this chapter I described the methodological frame of Interactional Ethnography, which provided a set of methodological approaches consistent with the orienting theoretical framework with which I constructed the study. This gave me the tools to examine what was being constructed over time by members as well as how the construction occurred in the moment-by-moment interactions of members. This methodology also provided the means for me to compare and contrast the experiences of the collective with an individual in the collective and to explore the development of both as well.

In the following three chapters I present the analysis and findings that resulted. Chapter 4 examines the development of the collective over the school year through mapping of onsets of major cycles of activity. I also introduce the conceptualization of consequential progressions as a means of exploring what the cycles of activity mean in terms of opportunities for learning academic content for students in this community, and the consequences for students who are present during

the activities in terms of their social and academic development. In Chapter 5 this conceptualization will be further explored as I examine the experiences of a returning student through in depth analysis of her community essay and pertinent event mappings. This exploration also leads me to examine the consequences of her absence and return, both for her on a personal level and for the collective. Chapter 6 is an examination of the remaining community essays to explore what the other individuals inscribed about their community. In this way I also examine the consequences of community membership for the collective and individuals within the collective.

CHAPTER FOUR

Analysis of Formulating and Reformulating Community Through a Curriculum of Being

In this chapter I examine how the teacher and her students formulated and reformulated community as they socially constructed an inquiry based curriculum. The data analyses are organized to explore how they inscribed their community in a graphic artifact (a web chart on community), then with a backward mapping to the beginnings of the social construction of community. In exploring this onset of community I also examined the role of social and academic practices in constructing the community. This aspect of the analysis examines ways in which the teacher engaged students in constructing events of the first day of school through event mappings and transcripts of purposefully selected samplings of discourse from the first morning of class. I begin with the first event of the morning to examine and unfold the onset of community building.

I follow the analysis of the onset with an exploration of the event that served as the introduction of inquiry, the beginning of the

Watermelon Problem. I then shift the view from part to whole by examining the entire morning to explore how these events were linked through the social and academic practices. In this way I begin to progressively disclose the concept of consequential progressions. Further mappings and transcripts of selected days across the year are then examined to illustrate that community practices are ongoing and are continually reexamined and reformulated throughout the school year.

*What Makes Our Tower Community A
Community? Talking a Community Into
Being*

In this section of the chapter, I examine an artifact from a brainstorming session in which Beth and the students explored what it meant to be a member of their classroom community. I begin with this artifact as it represents how the community members talked about their particular ways of being members of the Tower Community. This artifact (see Figure 4 1) is a reduced copy of a web chart that the teacher produced from class discussions near the end of the year (May 20 and 21, 1996).

The purpose of the classroom discussions leading to the web chart of the Tower Community was to prepare students for writing their

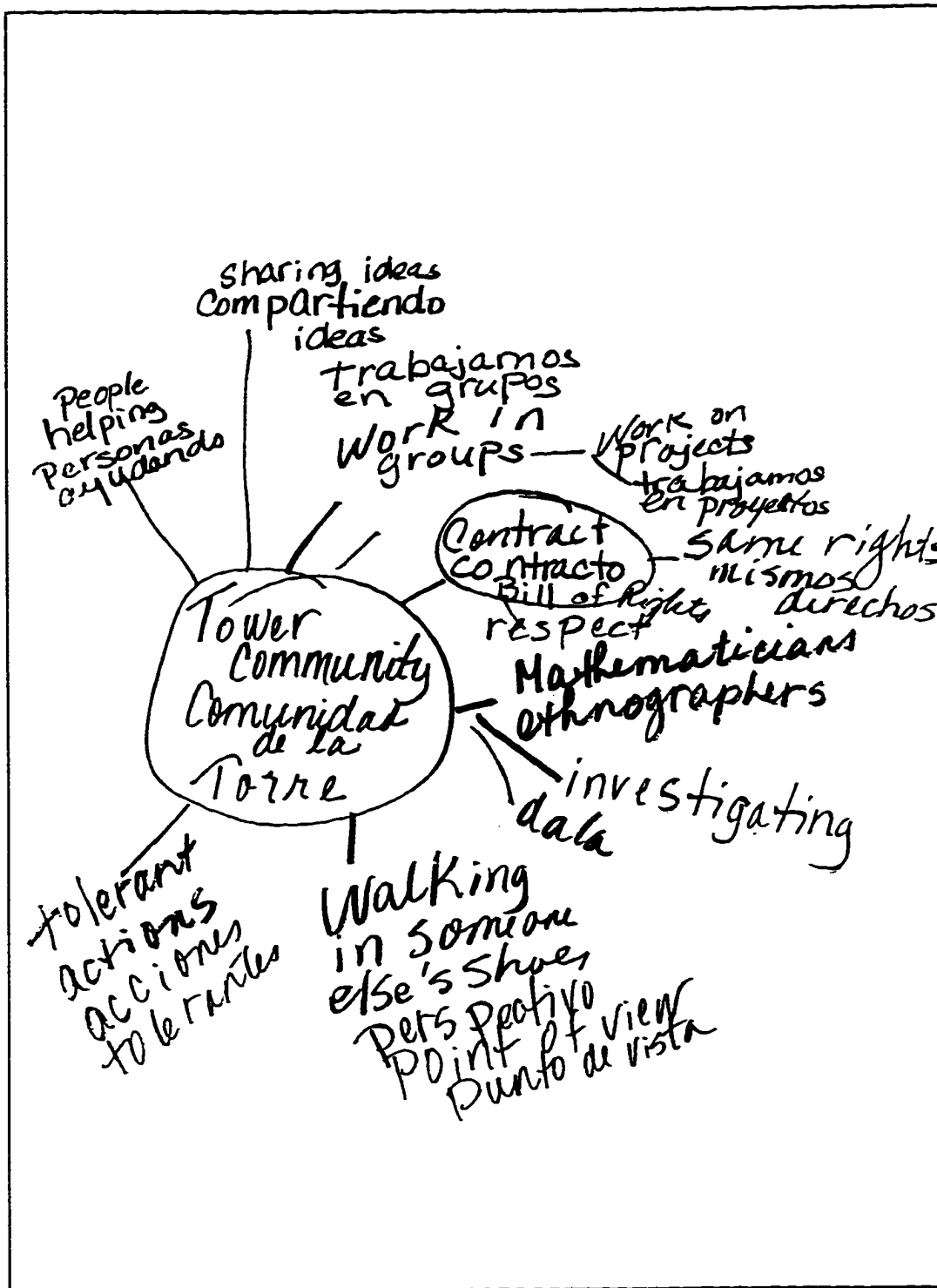


Figure 4 1. Web chart from the discussion on the Tower Community essays

community essays, which I examine in more detail in Chapter 5. These essays were reflexive pieces, requiring students to think back over the year and describe what made their community different from other classes. They were to describe to outsiders what it was about their community that they, as insiders, knew and shared together.

To analyze what Beth wrote on the chart from the class discussion, I constructed a taxonomic analysis of the items which she inscribed from their talk about this community (see Table 4. 1). In constructing this analysis chart, I maintained the groupings which she indicated on the mapping. The words in brackets {} were additions from

Table 4. 1

Analysis of artifact from the brainstorming of the community essays (May 20 and 21, 1996)

who	are doing	what	how
Tower Community			
people	helping	{each other}	
	sharing	ideas	
	working		in groups on projects
	walking understanding		in someone else's shoes point of view
	taking	tolerant actions	
mathematicians ethnographers	investigating {gathering}	data	
we	have	contract Bill of Rights the same rights respect	

my field notes of that day, which contextualize or clarify some of the phrasing.

The members are referred to either, in general as people who are doing things, or in their inquiry roles of mathematicians and ethnographers from the chart. The labeling of “we” in reference to the Bill of Rights is taken from my fieldnotes (F. N. May 21, 1996). A retrospective examination of this artifact, from the perspective of viewing classrooms acting as a culture, reveals some of the norms and expectations that were constructed in this classroom (e.g., working in groups, working on projects, helping and sharing). Members also expressed some of their rights and obligations as members of the Tower Community (having a contract, Bill of Rights, taking tolerant actions). Analysis also reveals examples of roles and relationships (e.g., being mathematicians and ethnographers, investigating and gathering data, walking in someone else’s shoes, and understanding point of view). I will review these themes again in Chapter 5 with additional analysis of the actual essays. To better understand how this community of learners came into being, in the next section I will backward map (Tuyay et al., 1995a) and analyze the first event of the class, specifically the morning

of the first day, to explore the onset of the norms and expectations, roles and relationships, and rights and obligations initiated.

*Constructing A Local Community Of
Learners: Exploring The Onset Of
Class*

In this section I explore how, from the first moments of the first day of school, this fifth grade bilingual teacher, Beth, and her linguistically diverse students began to construct their classroom community. As part of this analysis, I explore how the collective begins to develop from the onset of class through the talk and actions of participants.

I begin this chapter by examining the process of constructing the onset of community. To examine this process of community construction I engaged in a series of analyses. I use the term, onset, because constructing community is a dynamic and continual practice, which will become visible through the analysis. I will then illustrate the onset of the inquiry practice through the academic discipline of math. I follow this analysis with one that illustrates how the practice of inquiring and observing were constructed across other disciplines, and how this process expanded across the year.

Entering the Tower

Analysis of the beginnings entailed constructing an event map of the actions and the events constituted through what members constructed as a community from the onset of school (see chapter 3 for detailed description of event map construction and analysis). In constructing the map of the morning of the first day in the Tower Community (see Table 4. 2), I represented the events of the morning in the outer left column. The events are also indicated by the double lines in the table. The morning is further divided into six subevents, which are represented by titles in the third column, and labeled in italics according to what occurred within that subevent. The subevents are further separated into phases represented by a bullet and a general labeling of what was being accomplished. The actions of members are listed in the right hand column to illustrate what was happening during the particular segment of the school day.

As indicated in Table 4. 2, the first event began at 8:30 and consisted of 2 subevents: *Entering the Tower*, and *Welcoming to the Tower*. As students entered the Tower Classroom on the first day of school, they picked up a name card and selected a place to sit at one of the desks that had been placed together to form table groups (See.

Table 4. 2
Event Mapping of First Day, Level I

Event	Time	Subevents	Phases	Actions
Event 1: Onset of Community	8:30	Entering the Tower	• getting settled • Chime as a signal	• Sts entering classroom, choosing where to sit, decorating name cards • Tchr rings chime - one is signal to clean up
	8:45	Welcoming to the Tower	• introductions to people and to the Tower what students need to know to be in the Tower new kids coming in	• Tchr introduces self & other adults to Sts, talks about doing research in and of their classroom community, doing ethnography building insider knowledge, ways of being • discussing Tower classroom - Sts asking questions about life in the Tower • Sts need to be informers as insiders
Event 2: Name Game	9:20	Onset	• finding adjectives for introducing self to group	• building community • Sts working together at tables to choose descriptive word to go with their first name
	9:40	Practice Introducing Playing Name Game	• demo and practice	• BY & Shelly demo / Sts practice at table groups
	9:50		• Pizza Party • playing the Name Game	• meet as many in room as possible • in big circle repeating names of people
Event3a: Watermelon Problem	10:00	Learning Logs	• introduce Learning Log and how to use it	• Sts help put watermelons on table • BY explains use of Learning Logs,
	10:20	Introduction to the problem	• preparing Log for use • tradition of watermelons • forming questions • posing a problem • begin with a guess	• Sts preparing logs for use, labeling, name, date • BY explains having tradition, • Sts writing questions in learning log • BY's question as problem to solve • drawing on personal knowledge to make guess

Table 4. 2, Continued
Event Mapping of First Day, Level I

Event	Time	Subevents	Phases	Actions
Event 4: Recess	10:45	Recess		• students go to recess and return
Event 3b: Watermelon Problem	11:00	Making an Estimate	• discussing how to estimate and gather data • defining estimation	• Sts get settled from recess • discussing how to find data • gathering data by taking watermelon to table groups to look at and feel it • discussing look and feel in groups • discussing whole group how to get data • weighing watermelons in pairs with scales • discussing in groups costs and weight of watermelon • BY reviewing entire process of problem solving they did together as a class • discussing estimate / actual costs and weights, BY makes chart on board of both
	11:25	Revising Estimate Problem Solving	• making 1st group estimate • how to gather more data	
	11:30		• gathering more data	
	11:50	Reviewing the Entire Process	• discussing and solving problem in table groups • process of solving problem • review of estimate • contrasting estimate/actual	
Transition to Lunch	12:12		• how to go to lunch	• BY discusses procedure for lunch / DEAR
	12:15	Lunch	•	• students go to lunch

Figure 3. 1 for a depiction of the classroom). The teacher, Beth, instructed them to decorate their name cards while she greeted other students at the door who were still arriving at the classroom. On the first day students chose to sit wherever they wanted at the tables, and many immediately began drawing on their name cards with the pencils and markers that were stowed in a blue plastic container in the middle of each table group

Analysis of this onset of community practices through the lens of classrooms acting as a culture makes visible the onset of establishing norms and expectations for ways in which this group came to work together as a collective. For example, their desks were already placed together so that students could work in groups of 4 or 5. They were placed around the room in a sort of horseshoe shape allowing easy access for Beth to interact with each table group. The students were given choice on the first day of where to sit. Furthermore, naming oneself had already been marked by Beth as important since the first that students did when they arrived was decorate their name cards. In the next phase of this subevent I examine another set of norms and expectations tied to the use of an explicit signal system.

At 8:40, Beth announced in both English and Spanish that she was walking slowly toward the front of the room, about to ring the first chime. She explained that she used the chime as a signal so that students would know that it was a transitional time. When they heard the chime they needed to clean up their desks from one activity and prepare to actively listen for instructions for the next activity. Just to ensure understanding, she had them begin talking again, about whatever they wanted so that they could practice ending their conversation and quieting upon hearing the chime.

What Beth was making explicit in her demonstration of the chime was her expectation that students notice and respond to an explicit signal. Their responsibility also contained an element of respect on both their part and that of the teacher. For example, she expected them to quiet down and to listen. At the same time she did not immediately demand their attention. She had explained that the signal gave them the opportunity to finish their conversation, to clean up from their activity, and to begin to pay attention to what is coming next.

Welcoming to the Tower

The second subevent was marked by a shift in activity now that the floor was established. Beth welcomed everyone to the Tower in English and Spanish, and introduced herself and the other adults in the room, including the instructional aide, student teacher, and the university ethnographers who, along with the class members would be doing research in the classroom. To make an intercontextual reference to their prior experience, Beth asked the students which community they came from last year.

Some of the students indicated that they were in classes together last year. Others indicated that they came from 4 different fourth grade classes, in this school, and thus did not have the same fourth grade experience. She then explained what they could expect from their community this year, what they would need to know about living and working in the Tower, and why they would be doing ethnography themselves, along with the university researchers who would come and go throughout the year. In this subevent Beth was formulating this coming year; already marking this year as different from their communities last year.

During this beginning of the day, Beth also answered questions about the school (e.g., using the computer lab, when to go to the school library) and provided best suggestions for ways of getting around the physical spaces in the classroom (e.g., to stay clear of the window ledge and not hang out of the windows, which could be dangerous). She clarified school-based rules for going to lunch and recess, using the bathrooms, and the use of the back door for emergency exit. She reminded the students that the only real rules she had for them were: to respect each other, pay attention to the chimes, and to listen to each other. She also told them that it was up to them to decide how to exhibit student behaviors, given those basic rules as guidelines.

Beth also reminded the students that there were some who were new to McKinley this year, and that they would not know the school community. It would be the responsibility of the returning students, those who already knew about their school community, to help the new students come to understand what was expected of them on the playground, at lunch, and in other “ordinary” school situations. She also noted that there would be new students entering their community in the coming week so that they would be growing as a community.

Again turning to the theoretical concept of classrooms as cultures, the combined subevents of the morning already depict Beth's actions of formulating with the students a particular set of norms and expectations, rights and obligations, roles and relationships for this classroom community (see Table 4. 3). For example, in using both English and Spanish, Beth signaled to students a local norm - that both languages could be used in this classroom. In stating the school rules of when to go to recess and lunch, and when to use the bathrooms, she established the norms and expectations that were part of the school community, led by the principal, Dr. Juanita Carney.

In articulating these norms and expectations, Beth differentiated between norms and expectations of student behavior on a more macro level of the institutional setting versus the more micro level of this particular classroom community. She also had made visible her expectations that students would adhere to those norms, and that they would also help the newcomers to understand what was expected of them in order to act according to the rules that McKinley requires and that some classroom community members already know (Green & Dixon, 1993).

Table 4. 3
First event comprised of two subevents on the first day of class

Event	Time	Subevents	Phases	Actions
Event 1: Onset of Community	8:30	Entering the Tower	• getting settled • Chime as a signal	• Sts entering classroom, choosing where to sit, decorating name cards • Tchr rings chime - one is signal to clean up
	8:45	Welcoming to the Tower	• introductions to people and to the Tower Community • what students need to know to be in the Tower • new kids coming in	• Tchr introduces self & other adults to Sts, talks about doing research in and of their classroom community, doing ethnography building insider knowledge, ways of being • discussing Tower classroom - Sts asking questions about life in the Tower • Sts need to be informers as insiders

Analysis of Beth's talk about the norms and expectations at the classroom level shows that rules were not rigidly stated, and that students were given the responsibility for determining their own actions in terms of those expectations. In constructing these classroom "rules" Beth was also helping students begin to construct roles and relationships. For example, as the students took up the norms of showing respect, listening to each other, and paying attention to the chimes, then they were also building a particular relationship with their teacher and with each other as they took up the actions of student and community member.

As part of this process of establishing community parameters, Beth signaled to students that they had the right to be listened to, and that they also had the obligation to listen to each other. The constructed nature of norms and expectations, roles and relationships, and rights and obligations is reflected in the following transcript excerpt explaining the use of the bathrooms. In this transcript Beth makes visible that the decision of when to leave the classroom to use the bathroom is their responsibility, but that it should be based upon what was happening in the classroom at the time. In a short exchange with Edwin she suggests how they should take up the responsibility of deciding for themselves,

Beth		Student:	Edwin
020	we're going to ask you		
021	to use something called		
022	common sense		
023	if we are talking		
024	that's a bad time to go		
025	if one of your friends is talking		
026	no		
027	if we're doing an important activity		
028	bad time		
029	take a guess		
030	at the very best time to go	031	during recess
032	what would be the worst time	033	before or after recess
034	before or after lunch and recess		

and what conditions needed to be considered. (see Chapter 3 for discussion and rationale of presentation format of transcript.).

Beth indicates (lines 020-024) that if one of them is talking, then students should recognize that is not a good time to leave the room. She equates student talk as just as important as adult talk (lines 025-026) when she says if one of their friends is talking they should not leave either. Leaving the room during an important activity is as critical as when someone is talking (lines 027-028). Beth then gives them an opportunity to establish for themselves when the best time is for them to use the bathrooms (lines 029-30), and Edwin correctly pinpoints recess as the most appropriate timing (line 031). Beth also asks them when would be the absolutely worst times to go (line 032). Edwin suggests

right before or after recess (line 033), and Beth affirms his suggestion and adds that before or after lunch would be a bad time also (line 034).

Having signaled that students should be responsible enough to think about their choices of when to be attentive to each other, Beth related that another member responsibility was to help new students who would be coming in later in the week to understand these ways of being in the Tower Community. This was a responsibility that Eric, a newcomer to McKinley this year, wrote about in his community essay at the end of the year³:

Tambien sabemos que cuando algun estudiante entra y es nuevo, tenemos la responsabilidad, los estudiantes igual que la maestra, de compartir cosas que para él/ella son nuevo...para que aprenda las reglas de la Torre.

{We also know that when a new student comes in, we have the responsibility, the students as well as the teacher, to share things with him/her that are new...so that he/she can learn the rules of the Tower.}

In this excerpt from his essay, Eric explains from his perspective that members of the Tower Community have a responsibility to new students. He also includes the teacher directly in that membership, stating that the teacher also has the responsibility of helping newcomers to adjust to being in the community by sharing with him or her so that the new person can learn how to be part of the community as well.

Eric shows that students recognized that they had a responsibility to take up the actions and practices that Beth initiated in the first 50 minutes of class on the first day of school. Thus, the first moments of the first day show that the teacher had already begun to formulate, in two languages, ways of being members of this classroom community. She had begun to set in motion norms and expectations of school and classroom practice that will be examined across the school year to show the local construction of patterned ways of being. In the first moments, she had already begun to position (Davies, 1993; Heras, 1993) classroom members in relationship to each other, and made explicit rights and obligations by reminding them to listen to each other, and to inform new students who would be entering this first week.

In another respect, Eric's essay informs us that there are potential consequences of membership in this community. While the established members are responsible for making visible what they already know to the new members, the implication is that new members must also learn what they others already have come to know in and about this community. Thus part of being a student is learning the rules of the

³ For more in-depth analysis of the community essays, see Chapter 6.

classroom, and someone from the outside will not necessarily know what those rules are.

The Name Game

Throughout this first fifty minutes of class, students had been seated in table groups, but they had been doing work that was either of a personal nature (decorating their name cards) or oriented to the whole class grouping (discussing their classroom organization and orientation, and asking questions to be answered for the whole group). At this time Beth named and negotiated the meaning of the norms and expectations, and the rights and obligations of being a Tower member. Through these actions she and the students began to talk into being the onset of community development.

During the next event, the Name Game, students began to work *in and through* their table groups (see Table 4. 4). The Name Game was designed to provide an opportunity for students becoming acquainted with each other and for beginning to work together. Beth instructed them to be thinking of an adjective which would best describe themselves to others. The adjective was to begin with the same letter as their first name. She reminded the bilingual students in each table group that they

should help their table to come up with names for each person. This was an interactive task since they helped each other to choose an adjective name. It gave students a means of introducing themselves and of talking about themselves in their table groups first before having to introduce themselves to the larger whole class group.

In this way she helped students experience another interactional space that would be used across the year. In moving from whole group to table group to individuals within a table group back to whole class, she initiated a pattern of activity that would become a resource for the class when learning academic content - e.g., mathematics. She also established the role of bilingual facilitator, which would be an important role in their table group work.

Beth gave her descriptive name first so that students could have an example. She told them that she had to think of an adjective with which they would all agree, and that was "Beautiful Beth". They laughed together at her suggestion that all would agree with her, and she continued in Spanish with the adjective "Bella Beth". Her student teacher went next with "Big Barry" and noted, "pero no sirve en español", that it

Table 4. 4
Event 2, The Name Game

Event	Time	Subevents	Phases	Actions
Event 2: Name Game	9:20	Onset	• finding adjectives for introducing self to group	• building community • Sts working together at tables to choose descriptive word to go with their first name
	9:40	Practice Introducing	• demo and practice	• BY & Shelly demo / Sts introduce self at table groups to practice
	9:50	Playing Name Game	• Pizza Party • playing the Name Game	• meet as many in room as possible • in big circle repeating names of people

didn't work in both languages in the way that Beth's name did (i.e., the corresponding adjective in Spanish would not also start with the letter "B"). Beth used this as a point to inform students that their descriptive name did not have to translate into both languages. She was giving them choice to pick whichever language they wanted to use for their name. Up to this point, Beth had been modeling the utilization of both languages and now she had made explicit the use of both languages and signaled choice of language as a community resource. (see also Fránquiz, 1996; Heras, 1993).

Students began working together at their tables to select descriptive names while the teachers (i.e., Beautiful/Bella Beth; Big Barry, student teacher; and Shy Shelly, instructional aide) moved between table groups, discussing, using Spanish and English, possible names with students who were deciding how to represent themselves. At 9:40, a shift in the interactional spaces (Heras, 1993) and activity marked a second subevent during the Name Game event. Beth and Shelly moved to the front of the room, after making sure everyone had chosen descriptive names. Together they modeled the type of introductions that students would be performing with each other at their table groups. Beth went first, and introduced herself to Shelly using her descriptive name,

Beautiful Beth. Shelly returned the introduction by saying hello, repeating Beth's name, and then telling her own name, Shy Shelly.

Beth then had the students practice the introductions first in their table groups before they were expected to introduce themselves to the entire group. This chain of activity formed another phase within the subevent of practicing introductions. After the table group interactions, Beth initiated a new subevent that broadened the experience to the whole class by announcing that they would be having a *Pizza Party*⁴. She explained that The Pizza Party (without the pizza) was a version of an adult cocktail party where everyone was expected to stand, mingle with others in the room and introduce themselves to as many people as they could. Everyone in the room (including Beth, Shelly, Barry, and the university researchers, Ana and myself) was part of this process of introducing themselves to all the others.

This particular subevent of the Name Game event was an important part because it gave students another chance to practice their introductions with each other before doing so in front of the whole class. At the same time it encouraged them to go beyond the comfort zone they

⁴In triangulating the data analysis with Beth and other fellows of the South Coast Writing Project I learned that this is one version based on a similar activity from Sue Perona, known as the Tea Party. However, this is an example of how the practices of South Coast Writing Project have been taken up by Beth, and transformed to fit her class purposes.

might have already established with their table group members. This shift in activity also signaled a shift in the interactional spaces again as students are now expected to take what they have learned in practice with their table group members, and apply it to a whole class activity.

After these initial introductions were made, Beth had everyone all join together to make a huge circle in the room to play the Name Game. In this version of the Name Game, we went around the entire circle of community members, introducing ourselves with our descriptive names. Rather than naming each of those who had already been introduced, as is the usual South Coast Writing Project practice with this game, Beth repeated each person's name. After the last person in the circle had been introduced, Beth then asked for a volunteer who was willing to try to name everyone in the entire circle.

With this variation Beth took the anxiety out of any one person having to remember and repeat each person's name. This was especially important for community building since she had several extremely shy students who were anxious about speaking in front of the entire class (F.N. informal interview with Beth at recess 9-7-97). Beth was also making visible a key right of self expression and obligation to participate in the community, which became a recurrent theme throughout the year.

A corollary to the practice of speaking up to participate was that others needed to be patient and to allow the voices of the quiet and shy ones to come forward. In this way they would be showing respect for the opinions of others and give the shy students time to think and respond as responsible community members. This foreshadowed that the norms for participation in this class would include speaking up and listening carefully, allowing other time to speak, and showing respect. It also foreshadowed student actions to help others discussed in the next chapter.

Thus far in the first two events of the day, the Onset of the Tower Community and the Name Game, the beginnings of social and community practices have been constructed within these activities. Beth mentioned that there would be new students coming in during the first week of school. Already they will have missed learning about the other members, they will not be aware of the norms and expectations for participation in the Tower Community. It will be up to Beth and the other members to bring the new students into awareness of the rules and ways of being Tower Community members.

Summary

In the prior section I illustrated how Beth and students constructed the first two events of the first day of school, which included a discussion of the Tower classroom and the playing of the Name Game. In order to understand what would be consequential for students who might have missed this first day, we need to consider what was interactionally accomplished during the first two events. In the first events, Beth initiated the building of community through introductions of both a personal and organizational nature. The personal introductions allowed the students to give a sense of themselves to others through the use of an adjective they selected to attach to their name for the first day activities. These introductions would not be available to those who enter the Tower Community in the next week. Such is the case of the student, Areli, who is featured in the telling case of Chapter 5.

Since Areli missed this first day of school, she will have no cultural knowledge on *her* first day of the types of organizational spaces and practices that the other students have already experienced. Being aware of the consequences for students who miss the first day of school, Beth explained to the current members how important it was for them to make the rules and ways of being known to the new students. However, while

the members can talk about what they experienced on this first day, the students who miss the interactions will have a different interpretation since they did not actually experience it. This was merely a beginning of community building, and I illustrate throughout subsequent analysis that community was continually being rebuilt across the year, not only on the first day.

Introducing the First Academic Activity Through Mathematics

In this section I describe the analysis of the first academic activity through the discipline of math. I continue with sections 4a and 4b of the first day event map to examine how Beth formulated the onset of inquiry while still working to establish the onset of community development. In this section, my purpose is to illustrate how the morning events progress from community building to academic inquiry throughout the morning, not as discrete points but as interconnected pieces of a mosaic.

Watermelon Problem

In the third event of the day (see Table 4. 5), after the Name Game was completed, the first academic discipline, math, was introduced with the onset of the Watermelon Problem. When students returned to

their table groups at 10:00 after playing the Name Game, Beth first introduced the Watermelon problem by handing out notebooks to every student. In this first subevent, she explained that these notebooks were to be called their Learning Logs. As previous analyses have shown (Floriani, 1993; Floriani, 1997; Floriani & Putney, forthcoming), these logs became more than notebooks as students began to chronicle their processes during classroom activities in these logs. They also referred back to these entries when they did reflective writing about their math activities, and the logs became a textual resource that students used throughout their daily work.

Table 4. 5
Event Mapping of Third Subevent of the First Morning of Class, The Watermelon Problem

Event	Time	Subevents	Phases	Actions
Event 3a: Watermelon Problem	10:00	Learning Logs	• introduce Learning Log and how to use it	• Sts help put watermelons on table • BY explains use of Learning Logs.
	10:20	Introduction to the problem	• preparing Log for use • tradition of watermelons • forming questions • posing a problem • begin with a guess	• Sts preparing logs for use, labeling, name, date • BY explains having tradition, • Sts writing questions in learning log • BY's question as problem to solve • drawing on personal knowledge to make guess
Event 4: Recess	10:45	Recess		• students go to recess and return
Event 3b: Watermelon Problem	11:00	Making an Estimate	• discussing how to estimate and gather data • defining estimation • making 1st group estimate	• Sts get settled from recess • discussing how to find data • gathering data by taking watermelon to table groups to look at and feel it
	11:25	Revising Estimate Problem Solving	• how to gather more data	• discussing look and feel in groups
	11:30		• gathering more data • discussing and solving problem in table groups	• discussing whole group how to get data • weighing watermelons in pairs with scales • discussing in groups costs and weight of watermelon
	11:50	Reviewing the Entire Process	• process of solving problem • review of estimate • contrasting estimate/actual	• BY reviewing entire process of problem solving they did together as a class • discussing estimate / actual costs and weights, BY makes chart on board of both
Transition to Lunch	12:12		• how to go to lunch	• BY discusses procedure for lunch / DEAR
	12:15	Lunch	•	• students go to lunch

The transcript from the first day in Table 4. 6 makes visible how Beth tied the academic work to the personal and social work of building and maintaining community. To contextualize the moment, this dialogue occurred toward the end of the first phase of the Watermelon Problem. At this point Beth had introduced the Learning Logs and this excerpt occurred before she actually started talking about the watermelons they would be investigating.

Beth first made a point of checking (Lines 041-044) in both languages that the students had properly labeled their Learning Logs. From the ethnographic field notes, I recognize this to be of significance since they will have had other logs to use in different ways later in the class. She switched from asking a verifying question about labeling the logs to issuing a reminder to the students (lines 045-049) that their community would shift in the coming week as new students arrived.

Table 4. 6
Uses of Learning Logs and Community Responsibility

Line#	Actors	Non-verbal Actions / (researcher comments)
041 042 043 044	Beth: todos tienen diario de aprendizaje everybody has learning log written down	• • Beth is asking a question in Spanish first as she erases the board in one direction, stops, turns, walks back while erasing in other direction and asking similar question in English
045 046 047 048 049	you know when we do get more students in here	• • emphasis on do • (reference to future community shift)
050 051 052 053 054 055 056 057 058 059	you have a big job because you have to help them figure out the things that you've learned in one or two hours already that you've learned you have to help all the new kids learn	• (indicates role of students as instructors and the responsibility they have to help new members) • looks at the clock • looks at class, back at clock • points to the white board to indicate what they just did to prepare their Learning Logs (Tower members already have insider knowledge)

This had social significance for the community as Beth was foreshadowing the arrival of new students. From her own past experience with bringing new members into the ongoing community (Floriani, 1993; Floriani, 1997; Floriani & Putney, forthcoming; Green & Dixon, 1993), she knew what it would take for new students to establish relationships because of what they had missed from this beginning. Beth reiterated the roles and relationships of community membership (lines 050-059) and reminded the students of their responsibility as community members in relation to the new students who would not have had access to the

activities thus far. It would be up to those in attendance on that day, to share their insider knowledge with those who would be new to the community in the coming days.

Although Beth did not yet utilize the term “insider knowledge” this is a good first example to examine. Beth referred to *the things that you’ve already learned in one or two hours* (lines 053-057), and at the same time she pointed to the white board where she had just erased the information about the Learning Logs. This is a foreshadowing of how Beth would come to intertextually (Bloome & Egan Robertson, 1993) and intercontextually (Floriani, 1993; Floriani & Putney, forthcoming) tie moments and practices of this classroom.

Some of *the things* (line 053) that they had learned already included: everyone’s names and self-descriptions; classroom organizational rules; that listening to each other, and to the chime, was of major importance in this community; that they would be taking notes as researchers, and working in their Learning Logs. Those not in attendance would have missed all of this and it would be up to those who had already been a part of constructing these *things*, to help the newcomers understand how to get around in the classroom. They would have to explain what the newcomers would need to do when they heard the

chime, what a Learning Log was, what they needed to do with it, and how they would be using it in their studies as a text, among others.

This example also makes visible the beginnings of a particular referential system that has been labeled a *language of the classroom* (Lin, 1993). Outsiders would not necessarily know what is contained in the Learning Logs, nor the practices that are associated with using the logs as members will come to use them throughout the year. This language of the classroom, then, becomes a kind of shorthand notation for members to understand what is meant by a particular referent (e.g., “take out your learning logs”). It is the practices associated with using the logs that Beth states they must teach to those who have not yet joined the community.

Tradition of Watermelons

The onset of the next subevent was marked by Beth drawing students’ attention to the six watermelons that were situated on a table at the front of the room. Each melon had a number on the side, written in felt pen. Beth discussed why there were watermelons in the classroom. This discussion was an intertextual link, not only for Beth, for some of these students as well. Having watermelon in her class on the first day of

each year was a tradition that she had carried on since she started teaching. She noted that some of them might already know about her tradition, as some of these students have had siblings in her classes in prior years.

After this brief discussion of traditions, Beth began to formulate (Rieber & Carton, 1987) a new phase of activity, one that defined the inquiry base of this classroom community through the first academic activity. She first asked students what questions they might want to generate about the melons. These were personal questions that they would enter into their Learning Logs and then discuss aloud in class. Thus the beginning of this phase of activity stemmed from student personal experience, not from a textbook or from a lecture on math from the teacher. An analysis of the transcript in Table 4. 7 shows that Beth's practice set in motion a particular way of being students in this community. She established the role of inquiry as a way to find out what we need to know, and she drew from their personal experiential base first, as she began to formulate what it meant to be a mathematician in this classroom.

In the transcript in Table 4. 7, I examine the way the onset of inquiry was constructed with Beth explaining that asking questions is a

crucial part of mathematics that many people (not just students) might not know. In the first segment of talk (lines 086-092), Beth established that mathematicians do more than just answer questions, and that being mathematicians might involve asking more questions than one would answer. If students had been involved in a curriculum of *doing* then they might assume that in order to *do* math they must just answer some formulaic questions that a teacher might ask, such as in a word problem. However, in her own work on curriculum, Beth believed that, in a Curriculum of Being, the students would not just *do* math, they would *be* (i.e., act as) mathematicians. This may well be different from the ways in which they had encountered math in their previous schooling.

Table 4. 7
Formulating Inquiry and Students as Mathematicians

Line #	Teacher formulating inquiry	
108 109 110	hacen preguntas Sin preguntas no saben lo que quieren saber	<i>{they ask questions without questions they don't know what it is they want to know}</i>
104 105 106 107	they don't just do arithmetic problems they ask questions so they can figure out what it is they want to study	Tchr explaining that being a mathematician takes more than merely doing some math problems
101 102 103	a lot of people don't know that about mathematicians that they ask questions	Tchr reiterating that what we think about mathematicians is not always accurate
099 100	sin preguntas no sabemos lo que necesita saber	<i>{without questions we don't know what it is that we need to know}</i>
098	that's what Einstein did	Tchr links to professional
096 097	lots of people don't know they ask questions	
089 090 091 092	The fact is that mathematicians probably ask more questions than they answer	Tchr explaining actual work of mathematicians rather than folk beliefs about them
086 087 088	muchas personas creen que matematica es solamente en responder a preguntas	<i>{many people believe that mathematics is only about answering questions}</i>
	(Sp again about mathematicians asking questions)	

In Spanish she began to dispel the folk belief about mathematicians, that what they do is answer questions (lines 086-088). She continued to dispel and further elaborate this belief in English with the fact that what mathematicians actually do is generate questions (lines 089-092). If we examine these lines beyond the content, we see that these few lines represent a deliberate practice on the part of the teacher. This type of switching from one language to the other has been labeled generative code switching (Fránquiz, 1996) because the teacher is not

directly translating from one language to the other, as would be suggested by concurrent translating. Rather, she is developing the idea, continuing the stream of thought deliberately in the next language. Fránquiz (1996) argues that this type of switching codes serves to build the concept across the languages and creates an equity of access in both languages. In the next segment she uses what Fránquiz referred to as reiterated code switching.

Examining the next few lines of talk shows that Beth clarified that people might not that mathematicians ask more questions than they answer, (lines 096-097), and she continued her explanation of the disciplinary work of mathematicians (line 098) by tying to Einstein's way of working - asking questions. Beth indicated, with a nod, a poster of Einstein prominently displayed on the bulletin board in the front of the room. This poster was both an intertextual reference and a visual link to the role they were about to take up.

She built a rationale for asking questions (lines 099-100), that without the questions we would not know what it is that we need to know. In the next segment she reiterated in English (lines 101-103) what she had earlier said in Spanish (lines 86-88), that people often don't know about mathematicians asking questions. This is an example of how Beth

revisited parts of the concept again as she goes, so that the idea was fully presented in both languages. This type of code switching is also an example of the reiterative switching from Fránquiz (1996) because the general idea is being expressed in the other language. It is not being extended or built upon but reiterated so that she ensures understanding in both languages. In this way Beth also builds recursivity into the curriculum as she adds layers of complexity to the concepts they are constructing. This is one means of establishing opportunities for learning (Tuyay et al., 1995b) academic content, so that students had multiple chances to hear content explained, both across languages and throughout their activity as Beth continues to explain, compare and contrast ideas about being mathematicians (lines 104-100).

After Beth established the rationale for asking questions and had the students record their personal questions in their log book, she had the students pose some of their personal questions about watermelon (e.g., how many pounds can a watermelon weigh, how big can it grow), to the whole group. She then initiated a new subevent by asking them to solve a particular question that she brought to the activity: what was the cost of the watermelon designated for their table group? Having been given no information about their melon, students first had to make a

personal guess about the cost by just observing their melon from across the room. Beth asked them to just take a guess, and to write that guess down in a corner of their log where only they would see it because it was their personal guess. She further indicated that this was their personal guess, not to be shared with others, as opposed to the table group estimates that they were about to make together. With this phase of the subevent completed, students went to recess for fifteen minutes, represented by dotted lines in the event map and labeled Event 4. After recess the event of the Watermelon Problem resumed as if it had only been put on a short pause. For this reason that I maintained the Event number of the Watermelon Problem and considered it a continuation of Event 3, with a pause for recess.

On returning from recess the event resumed with a discussion of how to make an estimate by gathering data. The first level of data gathering had been observing the melons from their tables. Next they collected more data about their particular watermelon by carrying it to their table and having each table group member lift the melon to estimate the weight. They then made a group estimate of the weight, based upon the data they had collected thus far.

In the subevent of *Making an Estimate*, students were carrying out the social and academic practices of observing the phenomenon, discussing what they saw in their groups, and coming to an estimated answer within the group. This depicts the interweaving of the social practice of discussing and working in groups with the academic work of constructing a solution to a posed problem. At the same time they were establishing social relationships of working together in table groups, they were also negotiating and building collective knowledge at the table group level.

This negotiation and construction of knowledge was taken to the whole group level in the next subevent, *Revising Estimate*. In this subevent, Beth extended their practice of gathering data by asking, in a whole group interactional space, how they could get more accurate data for solving their posed problem. The students suggested they would need to collect more information in order to solve this problem. Further they determined they needed to know was how much their watermelons *actually weighed*, as well as the cost per pound in order to come to a closer estimate of the actual cost. Beth acknowledged their observation, and interpretations by producing a scale for them to use to weigh the melons, marking a shift to another subevent.

However, she still did not give them the cost per pound, asking them instead to think of other ways to collect the data they needed to complete the investigation. While it may appear that Beth was simply holding on to information that they needed to solve the problem, the ethnographic notes suggest otherwise. Beth was handing over (Edwards & Mercer, 1987) the authority and expertise in this community. She reminded them that she was *not* the only one to look to for answers or questions.

Given the responsibility of constructing the knowledge within their groups, students began talking to each other in their table groups to determine possible costs. One student had just purchased a watermelon with her mother earlier in the week. Her group used her cost per pound as a likely amount to make their estimate. In contrast to that table group, another asked permission to call a family friend who worked in a local grocery store. Beth sent them off to the office with the student teacher to do the “field work” required for them to acquire the information they needed. Some groups overheard the costs from other groups and chose to utilize that information for themselves. Thus Beth made it visible that, in this classroom community, students were expected to seek out avenues of information beyond a textbook or her as teacher/resource.

She encouraged students to build their own funds of knowledge (Moll & Greenberg, 1990) by making links between their experiential knowledge and their schooled knowledge.

In the next subevent, *Reviewing the Entire Process*, the groups reported their revised estimates while Beth charted them on a white sheet of paper hung on the front board. (see Table 4. 8). In the charting, Beth explained that she used decimal places for the weights since that

Table 4. 8

Representation of Chart of Estimates and Actual Weight and Costs of Watermelons

Table #	Estimación	#	\$	Actual	#	\$
1		13 ½	3.91		14.40	3.92
2		10	6.00		15.26	3.20
3		10	1.50		16.99	3.29
4		15	3.75		13.14	4.02
5		12	3.90		14.40	3.82

was the way they were represented by the grocery store on the receipt. The students were able to compare and contrast their revised estimates with the actual costs that she recorded on the chart next to the estimates.

They discussed as a whole group what their constraints were in completing the activity and why their particular estimates might not have been representative of the actual cost (e.g., perhaps the scales had not been as accurate as the ones at the store). Beth reminded them that they would be referring to the chart over the next few days, signaling an

intertextual link to an implicated future for the Watermelon Problem. They would be reviewing the process of how they observed the melons so that they could make a guess. Then they gathered more specific data in order to move to a more sophisticated answer, an estimate. The students recognized the need for more accurate data gathering to produce a more accurate answer.

Each subevent then built upon the work and the practices of the prior event, until they finally came to a table group solution to the problem. Beth moved them past the table group interactional spaces when she charted their estimates with the actual weights and costs from the store. This chart became a cultural resource, an intertextual link for the work they would be doing over the next several days. If we consider that at least one student, Areli, was not present during this entire event on the first day, she did not have access to all of the social and academic practices first enacted and talked into being on this day.

The members had already engaged in the following practices: talking in group, estimating, observing, gathering data, interpreting the data to inform their work, revising their estimate, negotiating a table group answer, discussing their answers in whole class, and comparing and contrasting their estimates with the actual answers. While Areli

would have available the visual referent of the chart, and would be able to glean information from the class discussion, she missed taking up these practices from the start. This would place her at a disadvantage when she entered the next day because she would not have had the experience that these members have already had in one morning together.

From Profiles Of Onsets to Patterns of Practice

Another way to map these beginnings is to shift the level of focus to show the social and academic practices that occurred both during these events and over time across these same events. In the prior levels of analysis, I zoomed in to see more a more micro level of moment by moment discourse in the construction of some of the classroom practices. In this next level of mapping, I pull back the level of focus to look across events to make visible the practices (Tuyay et al., 1995a) that were established during the first three weeks of school. I first show the practices across the morning of the first day, then extend beyond the first day into the practices over the extent of the three weeks.

Looking across the morning of the first day (see Table) the beginning of the event of *Developing Collective* took place as students

Table 4. 9
Profiles of Onsets: Becoming Patterns of Practice

Subevents, *phases in Classroom Events	Social and Academic Practices	Patterns of Organization & Interaction	Texts Used and Produced
1: Developing Collective Onset of collective • forming table groups • establishing roles and relationships, norms and expectations for being in the Tower community • establishing Tower community in relation to other communities • Formulating identity as community members	• 09-07-95 • selecting name cards • choosing where to sit in table groups • drawing on name cards • talking with table group members • introducing chime as signal • explaining active listening • introducing adults in community • introducing ethnography in community • discussing life in prior communities • defining ways of living in Tower • explaining insider knowledge as member of McKinley community • defining self • introducing self to table group • introducing self to whole group	• person • person • person/whole group • person/table group • whole group • whole group • whole group • whole group • person/whole group • whole group • whole group • person/table group • person/table group • person/whole group	• name cards • chime as signal • roles of adults • study of own class • definition of prior self • definition of Tower member • definition of school member • description of self • introducing descriptive self
2: Developing Inquiry as Watermelon Problem • defining selves as mathematicians • formulating investigations through inquiry • moving from guess to estimate to actual	Academic Resource • defining mathematicians • introducing how to use learning logs • explaining tradition of watermelons • formulating questions as part of investigating • asking particular question to be answered • making a guess • making an estimate, collecting data, revising • reviewing the process used so far	• whole group • whole group • whole group • person/whole group • whole group • person/whole group • person/table group • whole group	• definition of mathematicians • Learning Logs • teacher narrative • questions written in L. Logs • question/problem to be solved • entry in Learning Logs • entry in Learning Logs • chart on white board to copy

first entered the room and received their name cards. They chose where to sit, but in so doing began to form table groups since the desks were already arranged in such a grouping. This positioned (Heras, 1993) them as part of a small group from the very beginning, however, their first actions and interactions as members were still of a personal nature, and dealt with identity of the person within the larger community (choosing where to sit and personalizing their name cards).

Another important construct from Heras (1993), interactional spaces, makes visible what is happening through the patterns of organization and interaction as well as in the academic and social practices. For example, in the first subevent, the work being done had been of a personal nature, and the teacher had been attending to individual students as they entered the classroom, chose where to sit, and decorated their name cards. As they sat at their tables, the students began to shift the interactional spaces in which they were participating. Some students chose to keep to themselves while others talked with members of their table group. The overall focus of the classroom pattern, however, was still of a personal nature.

In the next subevent, the pattern of organization shifted, as Beth turned her attention from the personal nature of greeting each student

who came in, to orienting to the whole group. For the whole group she began to establish roles and relationships, and norms and expectations (Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992a) for ways of being in the Tower Community. She introduced a signal, part of a semiotic system, and they practiced the use of the signal to ensure that they had a common understanding of how the signal would be used. She also explained the role of the adults in the classroom and the roles that the students would eventually take up as researchers and ethnographers of their own community.

Analysis showed that in the next subevent, after introducing the adults and making explicit their roles, Beth positioned the Tower Community in relation to other communities in which the students had participated. Students progressed from defining their prior selves to defining what it meant to be a part of the Tower, and defining ways of being in the Tower. From this whole group interactional pattern, they moved to the next subevent of formulating identity as community members. They accomplished this by choosing names that described themselves, then utilized that descriptive name as a way of sharing understanding about themselves with others in this new community. The interactional patterns shifted from person in table group, where they

practiced their self-introductions to person in whole group when they moved to the Pizza Party and then to the Name Game.

In this second event of the first morning, the focus was on the person within the collective, the Tower Community. In examining the nature of the potential texts used and produced during the first part of the morning, I determined that they were more of a personal nature. I am using a broad definition of text to include oral, visual, aural, and written artifacts (Green & Meyer, 1991). Oral talk has a potential of becoming text when it is utilized by others as a resource. For example, in this event the descriptive names helped the members of the classroom remember something about the identity of each person. The chime was an example of an aural text potential as it represented a practice of transitioning from one activity and orienting to what was coming next. In this subevent, then the process of becoming community member, and taking up a role as insider and student of the community was also the content of the activity.

What was foregrounded in the next event, was the academic subject of math. However, at the same time that students were asked to take up roles as mathematicians in an inquiry based activity, the role of community member and person within a collective was still developing and changing as they shifted orientation in this event.

Developing Inquiry From the First Day

The event in this cycle of activity was *developing inquiry as an academic resource*. I previously analyzed and highlighted the practices one event, the Watermelon Problem, in the prior section of this chapter. However, that mapping was of a more detailed micro look at the joint construction of the beginnings of the academic discipline of math in this classroom. In this segment of mapping I describe the practices in relation to the patterns of organization of interaction across that segment of the day, and in relation to a prior event on the same day.

At the onset of the Watermelon Problem, as indicated previously, Beth first discussed what it meant to be a mathematician, and why one would even want to approach a problem as a mathematician. As a whole group they began to utilize their Learning Logs as they wrote questions for themselves and made a personal guess about the watermelons in the logs. From a personal guess, they moved through various stages: (a) preparing an estimate as a table group, (b) collecting data in order to refine and revise the estimate, (c) collecting more data, (d) preparing a final estimate, and (e) comparing as a whole group with the actual cost of their table's watermelon.

Analysis showed that throughout this event, students were interacting in multiple interactional spaces as they moved from personal guessing, to working together as a table group to produce an estimate, then gathering data to refine their estimate, and finally, working toward a solution to a given problem. Thus the pattern of interaction switched first from whole group, to person in whole group. Then the pattern moved from person in table group, back to the whole group. In the whole group configuration, Beth reminded them of the process they had just experienced to arrive at their conclusion. She charted their estimates for a comparative look across table groups. This comparative chart would become a public text to be used in the following days as they recorded information in their learning logs. During the next four days they would revisit their work, and write reflective pieces about their beginning processes as mathematicians.⁵

Summary

In combining the events from the first day of school in terms of the social and academic practices, I demonstrated that the overall actions of the first day were designed by the teacher to begin to shape a community

⁵ For more detailed look at the entire activity of the Watermelon Problem in a different year, see Brilliant-Mills (1993).

of practice. Beth acknowledged that one of her primary goals in the Tower Community was

to help students develop strategies for learning that they can use both in and out of school...to be able to inquire into their thinking, to examine their procedures and processes for learning, and to be able to understand the way in which the class community was being constructed through the ways they interacted with others (Yeager et al., 1996, p. 181)

I further established that on the first day of school, students and teachers together began to socially construct a classroom community through their interactions. Beth started the official first day of class with a personal naming activity to introduce new members to each other, and to the ways of being that they would encounter in this classroom. The process of becoming community member was talked and acted into being (Green & Dixon, 1993) from the first moments of class. Together they established the onset of the developing collective. However, this was merely the beginning of an ongoing, dynamic relationship which continued to develop and was reshaped throughout the school year as the analysis in the remaining sections will show.

What it meant to be a person within the collective was also developing as more practices and processes were put into place over time, which I will illustrate in the next section of this chapter. As

community members entered into more of the disciplines, the academic and social practices became part of the patterned ways of being in the Tower Community. These practices stemmed from underlying patterns of practice (Tuyay et al., 1995a) that Beth intended to establish as resources for the students to take up opportunities to learn now and beyond fifth grade.

Onset of Becoming Observers

In this section I will further examine the development of the collective by investigating the academic and social practices during a key event identified from previous analyses. I specifically explore how the actions and practices which had been constructed during a part of the first day of school were now part of the ways of being in community on the beginnings of social science. This analysis will demonstrate that Beth provided opportunities for students to utilize the processes from one academic discipline across other content areas.

Taking Up the Practice and Process of Observing

In this section I begin with a narrative overview of the beginning of social sciences in the Tower Community, then I will focus on analysis of key actions and practices during the event. Previous analysis (Tuyay et

al., 1995a; Yeager et al., 1996) marks the event, Saturation Observation, as socially significant as the beginning of social science, and also as an extension and application of the practice of observing that the members took up on the first day of class in mathematics during the Watermelon Problem. The significance shown in previous years led to the inclusion of this event for exploration of how the community development occurred across time and events.

On the eleventh day of school, Beth initiated an event she called a Saturation Observation event. In this event, she explained that they would soon be doing another type of data collection. However, rather than just telling them that they would be conducting an observation, she asked the students what they would have to do in order to collect data. She told them to trust their own knowledge because they had done this before. She referred to how they obtained information on the first day of class when they worked together in table groups on the Watermelon Problem, establishing an intercontextual (Floriani, 1993; Floriani, 1997; Floriani & Putney, forthcoming) link to the actions they took as mathematicians on the first day.

Beth also acknowledged the expertise that students brought with them to her classroom. She explicitly made an intercontextual link to the

observing they had done before in their previous classes, but often students do not trust that they already have the expertise to accomplish whatever the teacher is asking of them. They discussed observations that they had done in the prior year during science, an intercontextual linking of ways of being with text in these classes, and foreshadowing how they might take up actions in this event.

This is another example of how Beth handed over (Edwards & Mercer, 1987) authority and expertise in this community so that students would trust themselves as knowledgeable and look to each other for answers. She reminded students that they already knew how to observe, and today they would be preparing to take up the notion of observing again, but to reformulate it in a different way. The intercontextual nature of her formulating this experience ties to their backgrounds as students in prior classroom situations. However, Beth did not leave it for the students to inductively determine that they would have to use their powers of observation in a different way. Instead she made it explicit that they would be observing differently.

The discussion continued as Beth tied their experiential base from a prior year to what she had already learned about some of them this year. For example, she gave another example of observing: a particular

student in this class was learning to dance; and Beth described how this student would have to observe carefully dance movements of others in order to learn the steps for herself. This intercontextual tie to the student's own experience outside of school itself led to other examples from students. They continued to discuss how others, (e.g., writers and actors) observed as part of their professions.

In this classroom community, students had already practiced observing from the point of view of mathematicians on their first day in The Watermelon Problem. In their discourse, they referenced the observing that they did in the Watermelon Project. Thus the academic activity from the first day had already become a referential resource, a context of actions with texts that could be invoked to construct a common classroom discourse of what it meant to be an observer. This is an example of intercontextuality as conceptualized by Floriani (1993), when the students in her study referred back to another investigation they had done called the Island History Project. Intercontextuality becomes a resource (Floriani, 1997; Floriani & Putney, forthcoming) for learning as students recognize that practices from one context will serve them for completing similar work in which they are currently engaged.

In the prior 15 minutes of class discussion, the members reconstructed what it meant to be an observer. They drew from their prior experiences of observing on the first day this year, and from prior years of taking up a role as observer. They examined what other people do when they observe, and what their purposes are for observing in the way that they do. In order to illustrate emergent patterns in data analysis, I have constructed a domain analysis (Spradley, 1980) of what counted as observing to these members (see Table 4. 10). Each of the following terms was used by classroom participants during the classroom discussion we just visited.

This type of mapping illustrates patterns of interaction between participants in this classroom during one activity. In this case it begins to make visible what counts as *observing* for these participants. Not only are there multiple types of people who observe, but various places in which observing takes place and things or people observed. It also brings forward what types of practices are related to observing, and that personal knowledge was accepted as valid knowledge.

The purpose of this example is to demonstrate how the method of analysis begins to disclose the interaction and discourse patterns of this particular classroom community. This is only one level of analysis from

Table 4. 10

Domain analysis of observing by Tower members

Domain Analysis X is a kind of Observer	Domain Analysis X is a place to Observe	Domain Analysis X is a thing (one) to Observe
* ethnographer	* this class	* melon
* scientist	* playground	* apple experiment
* mathematician	* Ms. C's class	* bread experiment
* anthropologist	* other classes	* beach
* historian	* at home	* what surrounds you
* artist	* at beach	* life
* writer	* at ballgames	* people
* dancer		* everyday life
* actor		* scripts
* student		* students

this classroom activity, which provides a type of lens through which we can examine the discursive practices. However, to view how these segments of class discussion tie together with the next segments another level of mapping is needed. Earlier I illustrated the first day of class with such an event map. Another level of mapping in this section further highlights the classroom actions and practices in relation to observing and becoming observers, as though looking at the data constructed through a higher power of magnifying lens.

Seeing The Obvious And The Small

Through the event mapping represented in Figure 4 2, I explored the actions of members during the phases of subevents within an activity called the Saturation Observation (see Figure 4 2). The exchange that I described previously in which Beth and the students related their prior

experience with observing, falls into the third and fourth phases of activity, from 9:40 to 9:50 (Subevent 1, Phase 2). This phase of activity involved students in drawing from their own experience, followed by one involving a reading of an excerpt from Gary Soto's Baseball in April. With this reading, Beth led them to inquire about how a writer comes to know enough about a subject to write a descriptive passage. The description must be clear enough for the reader to understand what is happening at that moment. They discussed how Soto must have observed some games like this during his life, and then used those observations to write the story in a way that the reader could visualize what was happening.

Beth then gave an example of how writers observe, the kinds of notes they take as they observe, and how they turn those notes into a story about life. Beth used her own writer's notes from a day at the beach and displayed them on the overhead projector so that everyone could see how she took notes of what she was observing on that day. She called the activity a Saturation Observation, and she said that for 10 minutes, she sat and looked all around her, listening to whatever she could hear, seeing whatever she could see.

Time	Subevents	SE/Time	Phases of Subevents 1-4
8:30	Onset of school day	1 / 8:30	students define observing
8:45	Reading Workshop	:35	teacher defines observing
9:15	Transition	:40	examples of observing last year
9:30	Defining Observing	:45	examples of others observing
10:00	Defining Saturation	2 / :50	reading Baseball in April
10:30	Observing in class - Observing/playground	:55	teacher's example of writing
10:45	Discussing activity	3 / 10:00	observing as writers in class
11:00	Recess	:05	sharing notes they took
11:15	Gap in Field Notes	:10	observing - saturation in class
12:15	Lunch	:15	discussing notes-assignments
1:00	DEAR	4 / :20	go to playground to observe
1:30	Introduce Ethnography	:25	observing and notetaking
1:45	Explain activity	:35	return to classroom
2:00	Doing tangrams	:40	discussing playground saturation
2:30	Discussing observation and interpretation		
3:00	Close of day		

Figure 4 2. Saturation Observation - Level III - Phases within Subevents within daily events

She took notes of what she saw and heard: snippets of conversation that she logged in her notebook with quotation marks around them, notes about the smell of the sea air, the sounds of the water lapping at the shore, the noises people made who were sharing her space at the beach.

All of this she entered in her writer's notebook, to be used someday whenever she wanted to write about a day at the beach.

In a reconstructed dialogue about showing what she wrote and how she wrote it, Beth made the claim, "I wrote *everything* that I heard and saw." Elijah questioned her ability to do so, and exclaimed, "Not *everything*, you didn't write the obvious and the small." Lalo chimed in with, "Each minute someone does something different, you can't write it all." These astute observations on their part gave Beth an opportunity to explain that in the moment you have to decide what to focus on and what you should write down. She alluded to the university ethnographers, and how we used codes for certain things that we observed so that we could record more (e.g., initials in place of a full name, or symbols for male or female student or teacher). She also noted that we used a camera so that we could return to the tape later and fill in what was missing from our notes. In this five minutes of demonstration of her writer's notebook, Beth illustrated her expectations for the activity to come.

The next phase of activity, within subevent 3 of *Observing in Class*, was a practice saturation observation, writing *the obvious and the small*, so that students could get used to writing what they saw and heard without yet adding interpretation to their observations. Beth asked them

to take 2 minutes and observe in their own classroom, from the point of view of writers, what they could see and hear around them. After their observations, Beth and the students shared their notetaking aloud in class. One of the students, Luis, brought up a point that he observed someone doing something that might be embarrassing (e.g., making faces at someone), so he reported the practice but did not share the name of the person. This note led them to an important part of observing, and they discussed briefly that Luis' strategy of omitting the name was one way to ethically report what the researcher saw. They practiced their saturation observation another time, shared again, and then were ready for the next observation activity of the day - observing the younger students on the playground during their recess time.

In observing the younger students at recess in subevent 4, some of the fifth graders went off by themselves, others observed in small groups. They returned right before their own recess so they shared only briefly and would share more about these observations at another time. Beth reminded them that they would do a similar observation at home for homework. She further alluded to an intercontextual tie to future activity when she told them that the next day they would be writing reflections on the notes they had taken.

Summary

In this section I examined the extended cultural practices of observing through the Saturation Observation event. This event was shown from other studies to be socially significant in this classroom as the onset of social studies. It was also socially significant in that the cultural practice of observing was extended to be used under different conditions than from the first day of school. In this event, Beth made explicit links to the students' prior knowledge and experience of observing in other classrooms, and observing in other situations. She also established intertextual links between the practices of observing and the work of professional writers, as well as to her own experience as a writer. In the next section I explore how they further expanded their notion of what counted as observing through the actions and practices of social scientists.

Expanded View Of Observing As Academic Tool And Resource

In the prior section I described the focused view of how Beth and the students defined and practiced an expanded form of observing through the Saturation Observation event. In this section I explore this activity further by combining it with 2 later events. The analysis identified

a second event on the day of the Saturation Observation in which the focus was learning to observe as social scientists. In this event, students further developed observation as both an academic tool and resource. By moving from students' prior experiences of observing, to defining observing from different points of view, Beth established that observing could be done in different ways, and for different purposes. Through analysis of specific inferential practices used, I show how the Saturation Observation was both intertextually and intercontextually tied to other events. Table 4. 11 provides a representation of the three events. Included in this table are four domain analyses: (a) x is a phase of activity within an event, (b) x is a type of social/academic practice, (c) x is a type of interactional space, and (d) x is a type of text used and/or produced.

Tangram Event.

Analysis of field notes and video records showed that later in this day, expansion of observing took place when Judith Green, a professor/researcher from the university, came to class to explain how the university ethnographers take notes in classrooms. She also talked about the social significance of the notetaking since the ethnographers

Table 4. 11
Developing and expanding patterns of practice

Subevents and *phases in Classroom Events	Social and Academic Practices	Patterns of Organization & Interaction	Texts Used and Produced
3: Developing Observation as Academic Tool <i>Saturation Observation</i> * signaling intertextual relationships * formulating observation as a writer by notetaking * observing / notetaking * observing on playground	09-21-95 morning * referring back to prior work * defining observation * connecting to own prior experience * observing from various points of view * reading to observe as writers * defining notetaking as a writer * differentiating different kinds of notes * students observing/notetaking in class * students observing/notetaking others	* whole group * whole group * person/whole group * person/whole group * whole group * whole group * whole group * person/whole group * person/small groups	* Watermelon investigation * group constructed meanings * prior texts in other classes * group constructed meanings * Gary Soto's <i>Baseball in April</i> * Beth's notes from observation * Beth's notes from observation * personal notes from observing * personal notes from observing
4: Expanding Observation as Academic Tool Tangram Activity * introducing ethnography * practicing for tangrams * making tangrams * discussing activity	09-21-95 afternoon * discussing study of everyday life * reading/comparing notes - first day * observing picture on overhead * small group tangrams, observing * reading notes and discussing activity	* whole group * whole group * whole group * small group/whole * whole group	* group constructed meanings * field notes from first day of class * taking notes on picture * notes on small group actions * group constructed meanings
5: Expanding Observation by Adding Interpretation * interpretation by notemaking	09-22-95 afternoon * defining headnotes * defining notemaking as interpretation * differentiating notetaking/notemaking	* whole group * whole group * whole group	* group constructed meanings * notes from observation * group constructed meanings

utilize what they learn from the classroom practices to inform student teachers and other teachers in the university programs. They discussed the study of everyday life, and Judith and I shared our field notes from the first day of their class. By sharing our notes we showed that we take notes differently because of what we see and think about as we experience the observations. We also made an intertextual tie to their experience of their first day of class. They practiced notetaking without interpreting by looking at an overhead picture and writing about what they saw in the picture. This whole group activity foreshadowed the initiation a new practice in this class of notemaking-adding interpretation to the observational notemaking.

As indicated in Table 4. 11, this event was followed by one called The Tangram Activity, where a group of 4 students received colored pieces of plastic that they were to maneuver in such a way that they made a square. They were allowed to help each other, but without talking to each other. The remaining students gathered around to watch and take notes from their vantage points. Thus they took up the roles and work of ethnographers in contrast to observing as a writer as they had done earlier in the day. After the squares were completed, we shared our notes from the activity.

Up to this point in the cycle of activity of developing as an observer, students had been in the process of taking notes about what they saw, and describing phenomenon without adding an interpretation to the description. In the next event, they moved to interpretation of the data. In this activity, Beth showed them a picture taken from her class in a previous year, on the overhead projector, and again, had them take notes on what they saw. Whenever they made an interpretation about it, however, Beth asked them for their evidence to make such a claim. In other words she was prompting them to rethink what they were claiming as "truth" and to describe first before coming to make an interpretation.

For example one student claimed that he saw a boy in the picture. Beth asked how he knew it was a boy. The student replied that he knew it was a boy because the person in the picture had short hair. Beth asked if he had ever seen a girl with short hair, as she nodded toward me (at that time I had very short hair, and I was the only female in the room with short hair). The student changed his claim of the picture being of a boy to being a young person with short hair.

Others noted that they could not see what was being claimed by some because of where they were sitting. Beth tied their comments to angle of vision and point of view. The notion of what could be seen and

what could not appeared again, later into the event when they viewed videos of their first day of school. In this event, Beth showed two videos of the first day in class. Both of these videos were from the same moments in time, but taken from two different camera angles. Some students noticed that through one camera lens they were only able to see one table group and that others did not even appear to be part of the classroom (this video was taken from a camera set in the front of the room, with a regular lens). In the other video of the same moment in time, they were able to see the entire classroom because that particular camera was set up in the back of the room with a wide angle lens. They noticed that sometimes what you don't see may be as important to your interpretation as what you do see, and that you cannot always see everything, depending upon your angle of vision.

Summary

Analysis of the practices across events showed what can be understood by juxtaposing events to make visible the practices being developed and how situated use of these practices makes a difference. Through the explicit comparison and contrasts of these events, the teacher brings to the public level the use of such practices as cultural

and academic resources for learning. For example, students were expected to learn to observe, and to recognize that observing was done from particular points of view and for particular purposes. In the math investigation, The Watermelon Problem, they observed and collected data from the point of view of mathematicians. In the event called the Saturation Observation, students prepared to observe life on the elementary school playground from the point of view of writers. These same students then observed as writers for a ten minute period at home later that night for their homework, and constructed notes from their observations. In the subsequent events, Tangrams and the Notemaking, students learned to differentiate their interpretations from their observations. In the next section I demonstrate further how these practices were further related within and across the academic disciplines.

Consequential Progressions Through Cycles of Activity

To explore further the relationship of the development of the collective through examining the academic and social practices that members engaged in within and across events, I drew upon two specific constructs: cycles of activity (Green & Meyer, 1991; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992b) and consequential progression

(Durán & Szymanski, 1996). In utilizing both explanatory constructs I also expanded upon them by interweaving them through a dialogic process.

For example, the cycles of activity notion as articulated by Green and Meyer (1991) claims that the practices from one event are tied intertextually and intercontextually to the next phase through the referential and discursive system (c.f. (Floriani, 1993; Floriani, 1997; Floriani & Putney, forthcoming; Putney, 1996; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992a; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992b), forming a larger entity called a cycle of activity. In other words, members, in their talk, actions and interactions make reference to texts (oral, aural, visual, and written) that have been produced in another activity. The juxtaposition of these textual references must also be socially constructed in and through the talk, interactionally recognized, acknowledged and have social significance in order to be marked as an example of intertextuality (Bloome & Bailey, 1992; Bloome & Egan Robertson, 1993)

As discussed earlier, an intercontextual tie (Floriani, 1993; Floriani & Putney, forthcoming) is one in which the reference is not merely to a text that has been utilized, but an entire context has been invoked. For Floriani (1993), a context was a situation which carries with it a set of

practices that the members recognize and can apply to the situation in which they now find themselves. I illustrated an example of this earlier from the Watermelon Problem, and I address both of these constructs further with specific examples in Chapter 5.

The construct of consequential progression (Durán & Szymanski, 1996) was conceptualized to illustrate that as people talk with each other, their conversation builds upon what has happened between them in the past. Their interaction is shaping the current talk as a consequence of past texts. Therefore the interaction is a negotiated production with an implicated future and an intertextual past. My application of this construct is to claim that a particular cycle of activity has multiple consequential progressions within it, and that cycles of activity across the school year have consequential progressions as well.

That is to say, academic practices which are enacted in the onset of one cycle of activity are elaborated upon and expanded within that cycle so that they become a cultural resource to be taken up and utilized by students during the work accomplished in a subsequent cycle of activity. Not only are the practices elaborated and expanded, but there is a sequence and a consequence to the ways in which the opportunities for learning the social and academic practices are put into place throughout

the school year. In taking another look at the expanded chart of the patterns of practice in Table 4. 12, over the cycle of becoming observers I examine first the construct of consequential progression within and across the cycle. In Chapter 5, with the focus on student take-up of the practices I illustrate how consequential progression is linked to the curriculum throughout the entire year.

Within the first cycle of becoming observers (see Table 4. 12), there is a deliberate redundancy built into and across the events. For example, on the first day Beth has the students moving from the personal actions of decorating a name card, to a personal action within a table of selecting a descriptive name and using the name as a way of introducing oneself to the table, then to the whole group. At the same time, since the university ethnographers were part of the whole group and were considered part of the membership of the Tower Community, the notion of looking at the classroom as ethnographers became a part of the actions and practices from the very beginning. The act of defining community was also apparent the first day as Beth tied their membership in the Tower to prior membership in the fourth grade communities, and also tied it to the larger school community.

Table 4. 12 continued
Consequential Progressions of Patterns of Practice

Subevents and *phases in Classroom Events	Social and Academic Practices	Patterns of Organization & Interaction	Texts Used and Produced
3: Developing Observation as Academic Tool <i>Saturation Observation</i> • signaling intertextual relationships • formulating observation as a writer by notetaking • observing / notetaking • observing on playground	09-21-95 morning • referring back to prior work • defining observation • connecting to own prior experience • observing from various points of view • reading to observe as writers • defining notetaking as a writer • differentiating different kinds of notes • students observing/notetaking in class • students observing/notetaking others	• whole group • whole group • person/whole group • person/whole group • whole group • whole group • whole group • person/whole group • person/small groups	• Watermelon investigation • group constructed meanings • prior texts in other classes • group constructed meanings • Gary Soto's <i>Baseball in April</i> • Beth's notes from observation • Beth's notes from observation • personal notes from observing • personal notes from observing
4: Expanding Observation as Academic Tool <i>Tangram Activity</i> • introducing ethnography • practicing for tangrams • making tangrams • discussing activity	09-21-95 afternoon • discussing study of everyday life • reading/comparing notes - first day • observing picture on overhead • small group tangrams, observing • reading notes and discussing activity	• whole group • whole group • whole group • small group/whole • whole group	• group constructed meanings • field notes from first day of class • taking notes on picture • notes on small group actions • group constructed meanings
5: Expanding Observation by Adding Interpretation • interpretation by notemaking	09-22-95 afternoon • defining headnotes • defining notemaking as interpretation • differentiating notetaking/notemaking	• whole group • whole group • whole group	• group constructed meanings • notes from observation • group constructed meanings

Table 4. 12 continued
Consequential Progressions of Patterns of Practice

Subevents and *phases in Classroom Events	Social and Academic Practices	Patterns of Organization & Interaction	Texts Used and Produced
3: Developing Observation as Academic Tool <i>Saturation Observation</i> • signaling intertextual relationships • formulating observation as a writer by notetaking • observing / notetaking • observing on playground	09-21-95 morning • referring back to prior work • defining observation • connecting to own prior experience • observing from various points of view • reading to observe as writers • defining notetaking as a writer • differentiating different kinds of notes • students observing/notetaking in class • students observing/notetaking others	• whole group • whole group • person/whole group • person/whole group • whole group • whole group • whole group • person/whole group • person/small groups	• Watermelon investigation • group constructed meanings • prior texts in other classes • group constructed meanings • Gary Soto's <i>Baseball in April</i> • Beth's notes from observation • Beth's notes from observation • personal notes from observing • personal notes from observing
4: Expanding Observation as Academic Tool <i>Tangram Activity</i> • introducing ethnography • practicing for tangrams • making tangrams • discussing activity	09-21-95 afternoon • discussing study of everyday life • reading/comparing notes - first day • observing picture on overhead • small group tangrams, observing • reading notes and discussing activity	• whole group • whole group • whole group • small group/whole • whole group	• group constructed meanings • field notes from first day of class • taking notes on picture • notes on small group actions • group constructed meanings
5: Expanding Observation by Adding Interpretation • interpretation by notemaking	09-22-95 afternoon • defining headnotes • defining notemaking as interpretation • differentiating notetaking/notemaking	• whole group • whole group • whole group	• group constructed meanings • notes from observation • group constructed meanings

As a consequence of the morning activities on the first day, students were already into the actions of defining themselves in particular ways; first through their descriptive names, then through their association with other communities in relation to this new one they were jointly constructing. This onset of developing identity of self, positioned the students thus far in relation to multiple communities: their table group members, the larger classroom community, the school community, and the university community (which they will visit at the end of the year). This multiplicity of community membership was a theme that circulated throughout the year, and was always an integral part of the curriculum. However, it was not always foregrounded in each activity. The notion of being in community was sometimes explicitly built into the disciplinary content, and at other times was more implicit and backgrounded, yet was always an underlying pattern of practice in this classroom. I will make visible more of the sense of community in Chapter 5 with evidence of the student take-up of community through their writing.

Looking Across Consequentially Progressed Cycles Of Activity

These practices I have disclosed (i.e., working in table groups, discussing and defining themselves in relation to others), did not end

with the closure of the first activity of the first day. I illustrated in this expanded view that some of the same practices occurred again when they progressed on to the next event, The Watermelon Problem. The practices were elaborated and expanded , and through the practices students progressed, because they moved from developing identity of self in relation to others as community members to the onset of potentially developing an identity as mathematicians. Thus the identity of community membership was moved into the background, but certainly not abandoned, while Beth shifted their attention to and foregrounded an academic discipline. Throughout this activity Beth compared their practices to those of professional mathematicians: asking questions about an observed phenomenon in order to learn more about it.

There was also a dimension of elaboration, expansion, and progression within the math activity itself. Students started the activity by generating personal questions about watermelons, and moved to problem solving an answer to a particular question about the cost of a watermelon specific to their table group. In a Vygotskian (1978; 1986) sense of the dynamic of the zone of proximal development, Beth had started from the students' experiential knowledge, or spontaneous concepts, of watermelons. From this everyday concept she introduced a

scientific concept about mathematical measurement of watermelons by prompting students to solve a problem together, through interaction in their table groups.

However, in an adaptation of the Vygotskian construct, Beth had not placed herself explicitly in the role of more capable other, nor had she directly placed any particular student in that role. Rather, she challenged the students to work together to construct a solution to their problem, in a systematic process of inquiry. This process of inquiry entailed students utilizing strategies that Beth organized through the multiple interactional spaces for comparing and contrasting different sources of data. Thus Beth organized and established conditions for making visible the cultural knowledge which members were collectively constructing in and through their interactions.

To solve the problem they had to progress from making a personal guess, to observing the melon from a distance (gathering data), and producing an estimate of cost at their table group. The next elaboration within the activity was to make a revised estimate based upon more data being collected about the watermelon. To accomplish this they had two members of their group weigh the melon and report back to the group. This action of weighing the melon with two members of the table group

was to ensure that they could make a more accurate estimate, and fostered the notion of assisting and sharing information. Then as a whole group, they charted the actual costs against the estimated costs. This chart became a jointly constructed, textual resource, and a source of data to which they referred in subsequent events. Over the next days of class they worked with this chart and their notes from their learning logs to write reflections about their process of observing and investigating as mathematicians.

Summary

In order to explore this interweaving of the developing cultural and academic practices, I utilized a theoretical and methodological perspective that would allow me to make visible both the consequential progressions of moment by moment interactions, as well as how these multiple progressions were related over time. Thus, Interactional Ethnography made it possible for me to examine the complex nature of what these classroom members constructed together, and how they brought it into being through their talk and actions.

I chosen to interweave and thus expand upon the constructs of consequential progression in relation to cycles of activity to make visible

the ways in which members studied academic content across the disciplines by studying their own community through an inquiry processes. What was needed for students to enter this community and begin to take up the processes and practices that Beth formulated was an ability to see and observe, collect data, and to talk from evidence.

In this chapter I examined Beth's practice to show how she formulates and makes available opportunities for learning academic content through a curriculum that is integrated across the disciplines by means of inquiry. In the following chapter I examine student artifacts for evidence of their take-up of the opportunities to learn on an individual and collective level. I also progressively disclose the construct of consequential progression to make visible the nature of the disciplinary construction of knowledge over the course of the academic year.

CHAPTER FIVE

Reestablishing Membership: Personal Actions in a Collective World

In the previous chapter I examined ways in which the teacher formulated social academic practices in this classroom community across the first six weeks of school, by focusing in part of the practice of observing across the disciplines. The practices were expanded and elaborated over time through and across the various cycles of activity. The teacher's purpose of establishing these social and academic practices was to construct opportunities for learning (Tuyay et al., 1995b) academic content through a process of inquiry. Underpinning the academic content is an ongoing ethnographic study by the students of themselves in this community of learners.

In this chapter I examine one student's experiences of reentering the community after a four month absence as a telling case of the consequences of her absence from the classroom community. In the first section I examine the consequences of her reentry for both her personally, and for the collective. In the second section I explore how she

reentered the classroom community and took-up the social and academic practices after her absence.

Entering a New Community

I have already presented the notion that from the first day of school a collective begins to form in which students and teachers together construct patterned ways of being as learners in their community. After only two hours together on the first day the students had already gathered information on what the norms and expectations, and rights and obligations of living in the Tower would come to be. During that first morning of class, Beth reminded the members, who were already becoming insiders, of the new students who would be coming in later in the week. These students, initially outsiders to the Tower Community, would need to become informed of the ways of being a Tower Community member.

Thus entry on the part of new students is consequential for them because they will not yet be aware of what the community has already constructed together. They will need to be informed of what has already occurred, the social and academic practices that are already taking shape through the classroom interactions. There is also consequentiality

for the collective as it is reshaped by the entry of new students. Members are expected to enact their responsibilities of informing the newest members to the ways of being in this community.

A student from an earlier year (1992-93), Alex (Green & Dixon, 1993), wrote in his community essay what it felt like upon entering an ongoing community for the first time: *I walked in the door, I was new and nervous, just me thinking who am I, trying to make new friends. Now I'm part of everyone else.* As a new student trying to discover who he was in relation to the group, Alex realized that those who were already members had “insider knowledge” about the workings of this particular classroom. What he did not know as he first entered the group, was that in this classroom, members of this community are expected to make visible for new students the practices that are part of their everyday life.

Tiago, a Brazilian student who entered during October the year of this study, explained how it was for him to enter the community in his essay. He wrote:

Many people in the Tower did calculation, asked questions, found answers. I wasn't here. I came late so I didn't do everything. But when I did come, I did many hard jobs. I learned everything with the help of everyone in the class.

It was not easy for Tiago to enter an ongoing community and to begin doing what everyone else was doing. He makes visible that it was through the help of those who were already members of the community that he was able to fit in and begin to do the work that was expected of him.

What might it be like, then, for a student to enter the community, establish relationships there, leave the community for a time, and reenter the community months later? In this particular study, such an incident occurred with Areli, and her community essay offers us insight to what it can mean to reestablish membership in a classroom community. Her telling case (Mitchell, 1984) makes visible how the social and academic practices from the beginning of school become resources for her academic process and reentry in the community. Before becoming immersed in Areli's case, however, I establish a theoretical base for examining the student artifacts as evidence of what was available through the discursive system and students' utilization of academic and social practices as cultural resource.

Inscribing A World Through Written Text

In order to examine written texts and the communicative practices that produce texts as elements of discourse, I utilized Fairclough's (1993) conceptualization of Critical Discourse analysis, as articulated in Chapter 2. From this perspective, writers or speakers select from a range of discourses available, and their texts provide physical evidence of those discourse choices. I have theoretically sampled written artifacts, the students' reflective community essays, written in May of the school year, to illustrate what choices they made in describing and inscribing (Ivanic, 1994) their world in the Tower Community.

Analysis of written artifacts (i.e., a physical text) from this classroom makes visible the language demands and language take up of the writers as they socially inscribe their world. Because the artifacts that I will address in this chapter were reflective pieces, they provide insight into the discourse system (the language and actions of the classroom) through which these texts were shaped. As noted by Ivanic (1994), the discourse choices of writers are mainly unconscious and multiple identities are "constructed for them (writers), not only through what they have said but also through the discourses they have participated in to

say it" (p. 5). Building from Ivanic, I agree that writers can be positioned by the discourse that they participate in. However, I also maintain that writers take an active role in constructing these discourses and, in the case of reflective texts in particular, they take up and inscribe multiple identities through the choices that they make as they reflect on and interact with texts of classroom life.

In this classroom, students wrote essays about life in their community as an assigned piece toward the end of the year in May. Although they brainstormed together what an essay on their community might entail, the essays were not written in their table groups, but were assignments that they completed at home. At the same time these essays were being written, students were beginning to reflect on their work in order to construct their final showcase portfolios. The purpose of the essays, then, was to help students reflect on: (a) what they had done throughout the year in constructing their community, (b) how this community differed from others in which they had participated, and (c) how the work they had completed as fifth graders would prepare them for their entry in to the middle school the following year as sixth graders.

To have a sense of Areli's experience as a member who left the community in November and returned in April, I first examined her

community essay. I also examined field notes and videos as well as other artifacts from her portfolio to make visible her take-up of the social and academic practices as resource to access the academic content. To further position Areli within the collective, I examined the community essays of all the other students in depth. The analysis of those essays appears later in Chapter 6.

Inscribing Shifts in Identities Over Time

To begin unfolding Areli's experience of reentry into the Tower Community, I juxtaposed excerpts⁶ of her community essay against a timeline of the school year (see Figure 5. 1). In a first analysis of this essay, I examined the pronominal referents in Areli's essay to illustrate her shift in her inscribed identity across the school year. At the beginning of school, Areli wrote about the Tower community using the pronoun "we". She positioned herself among the community members as part of the collective group. She also referred to what "we" did in terms of the Bill of Rights, which was collaboratively constructed during the first week of school. In November when she left the community, she shifted her pronominal referent to what "I" did, and how "I" felt about being away

⁶ See Appendix B for the entire version of this community essay.

	In the Tower we:
Sept	have a community / all work together agree on the Bill of Rights and live by it
Oct	listen to the teacher every day / try to learn more each day and we do have the right to study and learn have the responsibility to let other people learn without bothering them have to respect all of our rights and responsibilities / other people
Nov	(in November) I: went out of the community
Dec	went to visit my Grandfather (who was ill in Mexico) felt bad and sad was not going to be in this community / would be gone got a chance to see all my other family (in Mexico)
Jan	
Feb	It felt bad being out of the community because I: wouldn't be in the community
Mar	missed my teacher and my friends learn in a different way learn better in the Tower community
Apr	Now that I have come back to the community I: feel happy to be back again / could see my teacher and my friends felt kind of strange, too / didn't know what was going on
May	In the Tower Community we: are all friends / friends in all the world all need to learn/doesn't matter which color of skin/language we speak
June	have to respect each other in the whole world
Next Year	When I go to LaCumbre Middle School, I: will walk the talk/ will let someone be my friend won't be their friend if they want me to get in gangs/tagging/not going to school
Implicated Future	In our Tower community we: share/need to share now and in the future, too

Figure 5. 1. School Year Timeline Juxtaposed With Excerpts of Areli's Community Essay

from the classroom community (November - March on the timeline, Figure 5. 1).

In April she returned to the classroom, but still positioned herself outside of the group. She wrote that upon her return she *"felt kind of strange, too"* and that she *"didn't know what was going on"* at first. In personal communication with me, (fieldnotes from April 30, 1996) Beth related that she asked Areli what it was like to return to the community after noticing that Areli was fairly quiet and not as responsive in class as she had been at the beginning of the year. Areli had responded that she felt like an outsider, even though she knew she had been a member before, because she could see around her the work that had been done during her absence.

As further triangulation of Areli's positioning as an outsider, I sampled the video taping of the first day of her return to school, April 9, 1996. At 10:15, Beth took a group of students (6 male, and 1 female) to the library section of the room to read aloud the core literature Number The Stars by Lois Lowry. The male students entered and sat, forming a semi-circle on the floor, waiting for Beth to join them. Beth entered the circle and began to address one of the students. Areli came into view from the right of the camera and sat down to the left of Beth, and slightly

behind her. If one were to imagine that they were sitting around an inscribed circle on the floor, Areli would be positioned outside of the circle (see Figure 5. 2).

During the first four minutes of this event, Beth explicitly attempted to include Areli in the reading group in a number of ways: (a) at 00:22 Beth handed her the book that they would be reading, (b) at 00:30 Beth named the title of the book, (c) Beth continued for the next 2 minutes and 30 seconds asking questions to recap what had taken place in the reading that Areli has missed, (d) at 03:06 Beth checked with Areli to see if what they were saying made sense to her, (e) at 04:10 Beth checked that Areli could read the book in English, and (f) at 04:26 Beth motioned for Areli to come closer in to the circle by patting the floor several times with her hand, palm down. When Beth motioned for her to come closer, Areli moved in, but still did not close the circle. She still physically positioned herself as outside the group, leaving enough space open that it would take another person to sit there to close the circle (McDermott, 1976). She did participate in following along in her book with the oral reading of the story, but still maintained a position of outsider.

One could speculate about her reluctance to close the circle in relation to the fact that this particular reading group consisted of 6 male

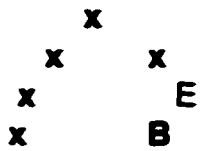
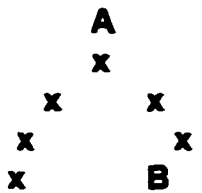
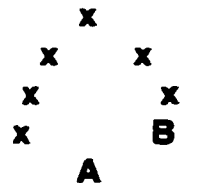
Time		Actions
00:01		Forming reading group: 6 boys already in the library; Beth enters group, then Areli walks in from right; Beth is facing addressing and E about his potential actions during this read aloud; Areli walks behind B to sit facing the group.
00:22		Beth hands a copy of the English version of the book to Areli; Areli looks at the cover; opens book to follow; Beth begins to recap book for Areli; asks questions; the boys answer and offer details
3:06	A Beth to Areli: is this making sense? Areli nods	Beth checks with Areli, by leaning toward her and looking at her.
4:10	Beth asks Areli if she read in English or Spanish while she was in Mexico and New Mexico	Beth looks to her left at Areli and leans toward her. Areli indicates she read in English
4:26		Beth pats the floor next to her, indicating Areli to move into the circle
4:31		Areli moves slightly closer, but still allowing enough space for another person to complete the circle. They begin reading aloud.

Figure 5. 2. *Areli's first day back in a reading group configuration, an inside outsider.*

students beside Areli. This was an unusual configuration for this classroom, given that in general the groups are more heterogeneously grouped. In reviewing this grouping with Beth, we could only surmise that the reason these students were grouped in this way was because the

student teacher and instructional aide had already taken the other two reading groups to other parts of the room so that this grouping was somewhat accidental.

However I still maintain that Areli's reluctance to close the circle was not merely due to the gendered nature of this group because she had not shown reluctance to interact with these male students before, and she could have moved closer to Beth as Beth had indicated with her hand position of patting the floor next to her. These actions on the part of Areli made visible what she had inscribed about her reentry in her essay, that she *felt kind of strange...and didn't know what was going on* at first.

Returning to analysis of the pronominal referents in her essay, Areli repositioned herself as part of the community when she made the claim that they were all friends in the Tower Community (appearing in May on the timeline). She returned to a pronominal reference of "I" when referring to the implicated future of what she would do when she went to the middle school next year. Areli then ended her essay with the notion of how "we" shared in "our" community and that they needed to share then and in the future, too.

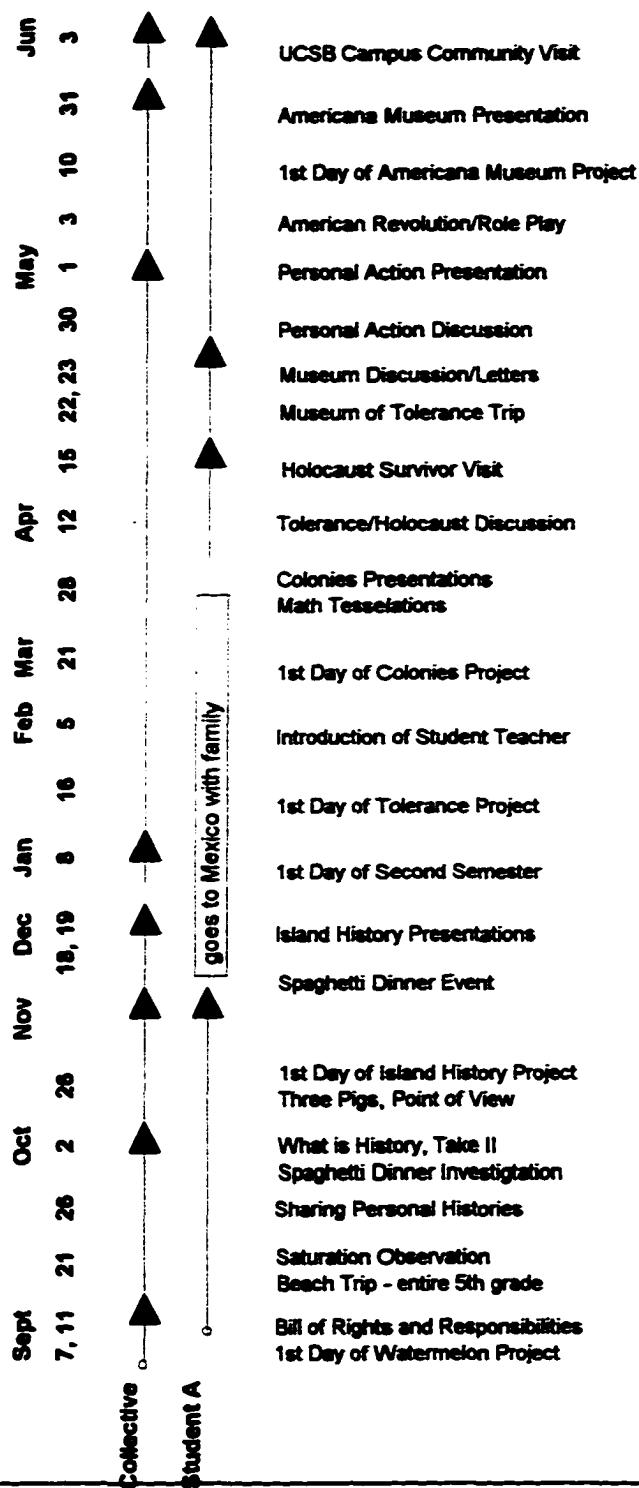
Examining Areli's essay in juxtaposition with the timeline led to the question, what happened to cause the shift in her pronominal reference

from the outsider “I” back to community membership indicated by “we” after April? To answer this question I first located her reentry in the context of the progressed year to make visible how her personal experience related to that of the collective experience. I then unfolded Areli’s reentry: the first three weeks after her return. I then examined a particular moment in a cycle of activity, when Areli was able to reestablish her membership in the Tower community.

Consequentiality in Entering a Classroom Community

In this section I revisit the consequentiality of the cycles of activity and the projects in which the students were engaged throughout the school year. Juxtaposed with the collective activities is Areli’s personal timeline illustrating her original entry, departure from, and return to the school, and at what point she reestablished her membership as active participant in the Tower community. To visualize her return, I have constructed a mapping of the school year with two horizontal timelines: (1) the uppermost timeline illustrates the developing of the collective across the major cycles of activity for the school year, and (2) the bottom half of the timeline shows the Areli’s departure and return to the school.

Figure 5. 3. *Timeline of data collection and Areli's reentry*



Arrows for collective indicates length of cycles of activity over the entire school year.
 Arrows for Student A indicates length of time actually attending school during the cycles of activity, breaks between arrows indicate days of absence for Student A.

Also listed vertically are the events identified from the data collected which constituted the cycles of activity

From the timeline shown in Figure 5. 3, Areli was not present the first day of school, but entered in the first week, and remained through most of the Spaghetti Dinner Investigation. Since she was present during the first six weeks of school, she had participated in the first cycle of activity, *becoming observers and interpreters*, which I illustrated in Chapter 4. She also participated in most of the Island History Project, but she left school November 22, just as they were starting to write the histories of their islands. (see Figure 5. 3).

However she had participated in most of the events of the first six weeks, the time during which key social and academic practices of this community were being established. Areli also had reviewed her work with Beth by completing her November reflections on her work. These reflections contained specific notes of what her strengths had been up to that point, and where she needed to stretch in order to improve her work (I will revisit this in more detail in a later section of this chapter).

Areli spent weeks 13 - 28 of school with her family. For part of this time she was in Mexico, and from February through March she attended school in Albuquerque, new Mexico. Areli returned to the Tower

community on April 9, at the beginning of week 29, which was nearing the final phase of a four month cycle of activity known as the Tolerance Focus (see Figure 5. 1). During that time the walls of the classroom had been transformed from representations of the Island History Project, to representations from the Tolerance Focus. What she encountered were displays of artifacts, constructed as students had sketched their reactions to books read aloud in class, made Venn diagrams about characters from the core literature they had been reading, and produced art and science projects throughout this time.

These visual texts were only a part of the discursive system that surrounded Areli. The classroom community members were also talking about ideas that had been constructed while she was away. They had already worked their way through a majority of the readings and activities about the Holocaust when Areli rejoined the group. In their discussions, members were making reference to actions that characters in novels as well as historical figures had taken as being tolerant or intolerant actions. While all of these textual artifacts were resources for Areli to utilize in coming to understand what they were doing now in class, they also served as reminders that she had not been part of the construction process for much of what was now part of the classroom discourse.

Reentering a Community From the Teacher's Perspective

Before I answer the question of what happened to cause the shift in Areli's positioning from outsider to insider, I describe why Areli came to my attention as a researcher. This took place right before the shift. Given the interactive-responsive nature of ethnographic research I was not totally surprised when Beth brought the example of Areli to my attention. The contrast in Areli's actions in April with that of her previous demeanor became a rich point (Agar, 1994) for this study. That is, Areli's reentry made it possible to illustrate what the collective had come to know during her absence. It also offered the opportunity to make visible what it would take for her to become comfortable with the ways of being in this community again.

The following narrative is a reconstruction based on the exploration of community development presented previously. Through informal interviews with Beth, and from analysis of the videos and field notes from the beginning of the school year, I had already understood the nature of the community as it had progressed without Areli's presence. My dialog with Beth on this particular day served as a contrast

point to recognize what the reentry was like for Areli, but from the teacher's point of view.

On the morning of April 30th, Beth and the student teacher, Elena, had attempted a brainstorming session in both whole class and small groups interactional spaces to recap what they had been studying the entire year, but specifically for the past four months in the Tolerance Focus. Their purpose was to generate ideas for students taking personal and responsible actions as community members. During the recess break from the activity, Beth was relating to me her frustration with the lack of voicing from the students in general, and the female Latina students in particular. Areli was absent this day, and her absence led to Beth's relating of her own observations about Areli's return to the community to me.

The following is a reconstruction of Beth's narrative to me during recess of the day of Areli's return:

It is so hard now to get answers from the quiet students in class. At the beginning of the year, I had four strong female role models: Areli, Tanya, Jamie, and Mariko. They would all four speak out, loud and strong, and with all four of them spaced around the room, they would get the discussions going at each table.

Then Tanya moved to another school district, and Areli went with her family to Mexico. When they both left it was like they took that spirit with them and the other females had not been able to find their voices ever since. Jamie and Mariko still speak out, but they are not enough to carry the other female students. And even if they will speak up in the table groups, they will not give an answer in front of the whole class.

When Areli returned I thought we could get that voice back again. Areli was outspoken, a real risk-taker before. But now that she has returned she is as quiet and shy as the

others in the class, if not more so. I asked her why she was being so quiet, and Areli told me it was because the others had done so much and learned so much while she was gone. She feels that she should (emphasis is speaker's intonation) be an insider, yet cannot come to grips with what she does not (emphasis is from speaker's intonation) know about the community.

My analysis of what Beth was telling me is that Beth recognized how Areli had taken up a role of leader in this classroom. Her relationship to her table group was that of facilitator (which Areli also acknowledges in her portfolio). The role of bilingual facilitator was an important one in this classroom (Franquiz, 1996; Floriani, 1997; Heras, 1993), and was one way in which Beth seeks to ensure equity of access for students, particularly for those who were Spanish dominant. Without this role model and facilitator in the classroom, the heterogeneous balance that Beth tried to strike in and across table groups is interrupted. Another concern Beth related in the interview on April 30 was facilitating Areli's take-up of the academic content that she had missed during her absence.

***Reestablishing Membership During the
First Twenty-One Days After Areli's
Return***

In this section I set the context for Areli's reentry into the Tower Community by relating the major activities during her first three weeks back at school. I have already related how she had participated before leaving the community. Now I will unfold Areli's experience of reestablishing membership in the community. First I illustrate what was made available to Areli in terms of classroom practices during that time that led up to her point of rejoining the community in voice as well as physical presence.

In a previous section I presented how Beth and a reading group reviewed the core literature with Areli on her first day back in the Tower Community in April. In the whole group work on the Tolerance Focus during her first week back, the focus was on brainstorming and graphing tolerant and intolerant actions. This work was both an application of what they had been studying about the Holocaust, and a preparation for their visit to the Museum of Tolerance in the coming week. Beth reminded them at the beginning of the graphing phase that they would be working in the same way that they did when they constructed their personal histories. This was an explicit intertextual and intercontextual link to a

time when Areli had been an integral part of the classroom collective. During that week the students produced an elaborate graphing of tolerant and intolerant actions (see Figure 5. 4). This graph became a display on a wall in one of the hallways in the main part of the school.

Other activities during the first three weeks of her return were: (a) a visit from a survivor of the Holocaust, who related her personal epic of survival, and (b) a trip to the Museum of Tolerance the following week to bring together all that they had been studying up to that time. Although Areli was not able to go on the museum visit (again reinforcing the positioning as outsider), she was in class the following day when they reviewed what they saw. During this time Beth also read aloud letters from the parents who wrote about their child's reaction to the museum visit. All of these activities together were tying back (Green & Harker, 1982; Putney, 1996) to what they had been studying throughout the four months, and leading up to the next phase of activity, Taking Personal and Community Action.

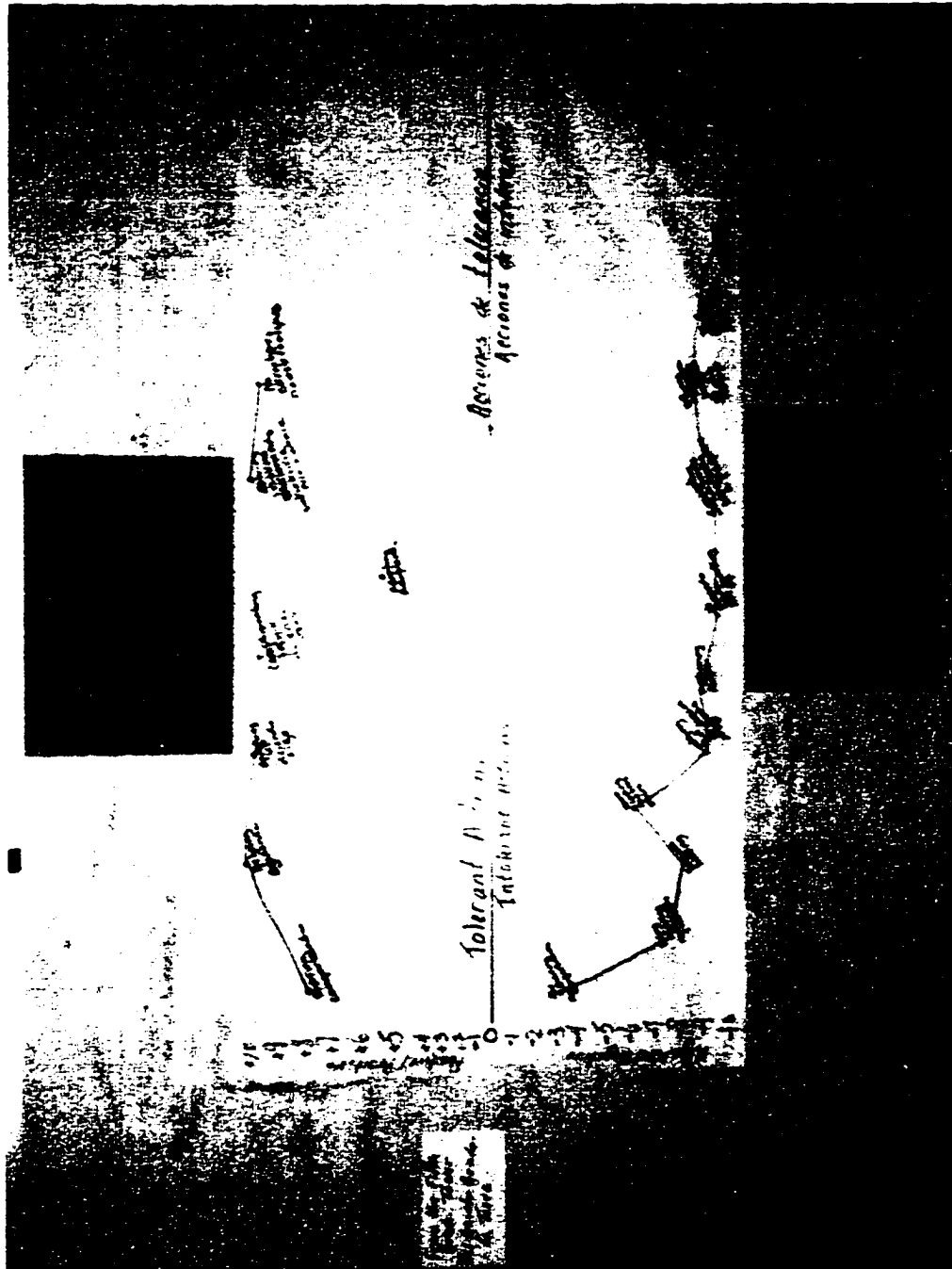


Figure 5. 4. Display of the graph of Tolerant and Intolerant Actions from the 5th graders

Reestablishing Personal Voice by Taking Personal Action

I have already mentioned that from the teacher's perspective, Areli had not yet found her voice in the community to the extent that she had exercised it before she departed in November. Beth was reminded of this during the brainstorming of personal actions on the morning of April 30, when Areli was absent. On the morning of the following day, Areli's personal action of reestablishing her voice in the collective occurred.

At 10:00 on the morning of May 1, the student teacher began a phase of activity tied to the prior day's activity with the student presentations of their personal action contracts. These contracts were drawings the students made for homework, depicting what they would promise to do on a personal level to show themselves taking responsible actions. On this morning their actions were to stand up before the whole class, present their drawing, and explain it to the class as a statement of their own personal responsible action. The poster constructed during their brainstorming session from the previous day was hanging on the white board in front of them (see Figure 5. 5).

When they paused this activity for recess, most of the students had already presented their drawing. While others went outside during

recess, Areli stayed in the classroom to draw a picture of herself taking an action of recycling. When class resumed after the recess break, the teacher asked for the remaining students to present their contracts of responsible action. She told Areli that she need not present hers at this time, that she could wait until it was completely finished. However, Areli negotiated to present her work next, and she stood up, and presented the drawing of herself doing recycling.

Personal & Community Responsibility	
1. Speak up	Habla en publico
2. Having respect	Tener respecto
3. Taking action	Tomar acción
4. Walking the Talk	Siguiendo lo que dice
5. Walking in someone else's shoes	Caminar en los zapatos de otra persona

Figure 5. 5. *Representation of Student Generated Poster of Responsible Actions in Community*

Areli was able to complete this action even though she was absent on the day that it was assigned. She had been part of the community during this phase of the project, she was aware of what it meant to take responsible action. She had been present during the earlier discussions

and activities surrounding tolerant and intolerant actions, and she watched this morning as the other students stood to present their drawings of responsible actions to the class.

Areli had also been in the classroom at the beginning, when Beth first introduced the inquiry practices that later were to become resources. She had the experiential base of observing, asking questions, and seeking evidence as strategies to utilize upon her return. What was missing for her was the level of participation in the social construction of common knowledge about the content that the others had experienced.

If we take Weade's notion of "information as a participant" in the social construction of knowledge, then Areli had missed out on what "information" could offer in building a knowledge base. What Areli *did* have available, however, was an abbreviated version of the information in the form of the classroom discursive system: the visual texts produced by her classmates and displayed in the classroom, an oral review of the core literature on her first day back, the brainstorming and graphing of the tolerant and intolerant actions, and the discussions surrounding the Holocaust survivor and the visit to the Tolerance Museum.

The metaphor of Areli's taking action, to publicly voice her participation in the Tower Community during the Taking Personal Action

phase of the Tolerance Focus was socially significant on several levels. Not only did she participate in this portion of the activity, but she also voiced her suggestions of recycling as a community action they could take together as 5th graders in the next phase of this cycle. At the end of that week, Beth declared Areli the student of the week. In naming Areli for this honor, Beth publicly welcomed her back into the community by stating:

This student, I think, has been a member of the community but hasn't been feeling like that for a while, and this week has been doing excellent work, ha hecho trabajo excelente este semana. This week I am pleased to say that she has shown a positive example of working with others and getting the work done, so, Areli, welcome back (FN, May 3, 1996)

A few moments later in class, Beth announced that she would play *Mother England* in a role play about the Revolutionary War and wondered who would role play her child (Colonial States before the war). Tiago had volunteered the prior time, and this time Beth wanted the child to be a daughter. Many students volunteered to play, and Beth asked if the student of the week would play her daughter. Areli jumped up from her desk, went to the front of the room, and acted out a role play scene with Beth about declaring her independence. After taking action this week, Areli had recovered her voice, and her position as acting

community member. In the next section I will examine Areli's claims of the work she accomplished through her reflections and her choices of work samples in her showcase portfolio.

End of the Year Reflections

The end of the year is a cumulative time in the Tower Community, where all of the work that the students have done up to this point comes together in the form of the Americana Museum, and Beth relates the museum to both the Island Project, and to a portfolio:

Listen carefully - the Americana Museum is to the end the year - this is an analogy - what the Island Project is to the beginning. It is where you bring together all your work and studies, it is like a portfolio. It shows your progress, your travel, your ability to do investigating, thinking about history, reading for information, presenting data and your evidence. It shows what you have learned all along. That is why you can't let anyone down. The whole school will be coming by your exhibit. This is the hardest work and the most work you've done all year and you'll do a wonderful job, but you have to listen.

{Says all in Spanish also, I could not write it fast enough}

In the Island Project you brought all your subjects together, as historians, anthropologists, ethnographers, as historians to write an imaginary history - now you are dealing with real history, and to teach others about what you have learned, la historia verdadera como históricos, antropólogos, científicos, etnógrafos, artistas, definitely using artistic skills. (FN, May 6, 1996)

During the weeks that they were researching, taking notes, and constructing exhibits for the museum, the students were also reflecting on their learning in other ways: (a) writing their reflections on themselves as learners for their portfolios, (b) writing their community essays, (c) constructing the questions they need to answer for their portfolios, and (d) constructing their Showcase Portfolios with Dear Reader letters to guide the readers through the work selected for the portfolios. In the following section I unfold sampled portions of Areli's Showcase Portfolio for evidence of her take-up of the opportunities for learning provided through the collective discursive system.

Viewing Student Take-up Through a Showcase Portfolio

The students select the samples of their work that best answer questions about themselves as learners (See Table 5. 1). An interesting phenomenon for this study is that in reflecting on her experience in conducting investigations, Areli focused on the investigations she participated in from their onset, and did not cite those in which she entered midstream. For example, in her Dear Reader letter, written in June of the school year as a cover letter introducing their "Showcase Portfolio" Areli writes:

It (portfolio) is a valuable thing, because you can show all the effort you have done during 5th. We try to get all the evidence we can...I can conduct an investigation, in a group or by myself. I have the evidence to show. I have the Spaghetti Dinner Investigation and the Americana Museum Investigation to show that I can conduct an investigation...(Because I left the Tower, I don't have my Spaghetti Dinner folder, but I did this investigation). I also investigated art for the Americana Museum.

I can work effectively in a group. I shared information with the other members of my group. I have enough evidence. One of my examples is the Spaghetti Dinner Investigation and the second is the Americana Museum. In our group for the museum, we helped each other on the project. I listened to everything they said so I could help them and listened to their explanations so they would listen to me. I helped translate English to Spanish. If I found a topic or something that would help a member of my group, I gave that person that article so that would help them, too...Now that I am done sharing my evidence, I think I have enough evidence to show I am ready to leave fifth grade.

In this excerpt, Areli explained how she met two of the criteria, conducting investigations (in groups and individually) and working effectively in a group. She provided evidence and stated how the evidence spoke to the criteria- making it clear that because she left (in November), she did not have a "final" or "complete" *Spaghetti Dinner folder*, but that she had done the work. In discussing her evidence to support that she could work effectively in a group, she explained what she did (*listened to everything they said; listened to their explanations*)

and why (*so I could help them; so they would listen to me*). She also took up the role of facilitator (*I helped translate English to Spanish*).

Table 5. 1
Questions for Student Portfolio Reflections

Portfolio Questions

1. Can I conduct an investigation?
2. Can I work effectively in a group?
3. Can I analyze a process and understand my own thinking and way of learning?
4. Can I write clearly, thoughtfully and effectively to communicate an idea or ideas?
5. Can I understand and construct meaning from what I read and respond thoughtfully to what I read?
6. Can I solve problems?
7. Can I use creativity and imagination to communicate thoughts, ideas and/or feelings?
8. Can I interpret evidence and understand different points of view, including my own?
9. Have I grown, changed and progressed as a learner in some area in the fifth grade?

Areli's choice of which activities offered evidence of conducting an investigation illustrates the social significance of being part of the investigation from the beginning. She could have mentioned the Tolerance Focus, which she entered midstream, or the Action Project, which built from the Tolerance Focus given that is where she first took action upon her return. She chose instead the investigation that she did for the Spaghetti Dinner (even though she left before completing the

work) and the Americana Museum, which began five weeks after her return.

In light of the other students' experiences, Areli's case partly refutes Weade's (1995) argument that:

Only recently has evidence surfaced to suggest that the meanings constructed at a social level of classroom organization are fundamental. The structures of social participation form a deeply-rooted foundation that may support or constrain the press to entertain loftier levels of subject matter content knowledge as well as access and opportunity to learn. (p.41)

In the case of Areli the social foundation of social and academic practices in which she participated from the beginning of school did support her reentry to the classroom, even though she took twenty-one days to return to her prior level of participation. The teacher makes these social and academic practices evident to the classroom members from the first days of class.

These practices therefore are not taken for granted, nor are they left to be intuited or inferred by students. Rather, the social and academic practices in which these students jointly construct knowledge (e.g., observing, researching, taking and interpreting notes, talking and writing from evidence, taking up other's point of view, etc.) are continuously talked and acted into being (Green & Dixon, 1993),

reflected on, utilized, and made visible as resources for learning academic content by members of this community.

I argue that the structures of social participation indeed formed a foundation that students in this classroom took up as part of their repertoires for learning (Kantor et al., 1992). From prior ethnographic data analysis (Floriani, 1993; Floriani, 1997; Green & Yeager, 1995; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992b; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group et al., 1995) in the first weeks of school, this community of learners engages in an inquiry process across discipline areas. Through this process of inquiry, students were asked to consider and explore what scientists, artists, mathematicians, social scientists, readers and writers do, how they do it, and why they engage in such processes (Yeager et al., 1996). Through these practices and processes Areli was able to return to her position as community member and to engage in these practices for the remainder of her time at school.

Summary

In the first section of this chapter, through the analysis of Areli's reentry and take-up of those practices I articulated how social and academic practices through the discursive system became cultural

resources for Areli to use in reestablishing her position as knowledgeable member of the community. The first analysis of Areli's essay made visible her position as a returning student, and her recognition of feeling like an outsider, even though she was considered an insider by the other members. Further analysis of her work made visible her take-up of the literate practices, that is to say, her personal reformulation of those practices that were common across the collective.

The claims made in her essay about what counted as community led me to ask the following questions: (a) what had other students inscribed about the community through their essays, and (b) was Areli's notion of community substantially different from the other members because of her unusual circumstance, or did they share common constructs and ways of talking about them? To answer these questions I elected to construct a textual analysis of the community essays written by and about this collective to compare and contrast what the members inscribed about their world. (For similar textual analysis see also: (Floriani, 1997; Jennings, 1996a; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group et al., 1995). In Chapter 6, I examine the essays of the other students and present an analysis of the findings to answer those questions.

CHAPTER SIX

Individuals Within Collective Development: Examining Student Inscriptions of Their World

In the previous analysis chapter I presented a telling case of individual development within the collective. Through the experiences of Areli in returning to the classroom community, I also described how the community itself had developed both socially and academically, and the consequences of that development for Areli, and for the collective, upon her return. I also raised questions as to Areli's perception of the community through analysis of her community essay. In this chapter I present further analysis of the other community essays to examine how other individuals within the collective chose to inscribe their world through their experience as community members.

The excerpts from essays are presented to illustrate these points: (a) that students across this year held a common view of patterns of life in this classroom, and (b) that student understanding of learning in classrooms is socially constructed. To make visible these points, in the first section I present the ways in which I analyzed these artifacts. In the

second section I make visible how students inscribed their community through the themes they selected to write about.

*Community Essay Excerpts: Analysis
design*

The community essays have been a tradition in this classroom since 1991. In that year, one student chose to write about the Tower Community as a general essay assignment. When she shared the essay aloud in class, other students expressed a desire to write such an essay from their point of view about the community. After this year it became an assigned essay for students to complete as a homework assignment toward the end of the school year (around May 25). Through the activity of writing the essays, the students take up the opportunity to express what is unique about their community. Around the same time that they are writing the essays, the students are also writing a piece for their showcase portfolios called *Myself as a Learner*. These two pieces together serve as reflective activities for the portfolios that they will construct and share with their parents and the fourth grade classes as evidence of their learning in fifth grade.

To capture the essence of what students inscribed about their world, I first read the essays, keeping in mind the following set of

questions: Who could say or do what, with whom, under what conditions, for what purpose, and with what outcomes? (Green & Meyer, 1991; Zaharlick & Green, 1991) While this litany of questions was initially used in this study as part of an orienting framework for entering the classroom as participant observer/ethnographer, the recursive nature of Interactional Ethnography brings the questions back into focus during the analysis phase. These questions helped us to take up an emic, or insider, perspective while we were in the role of participant observers during the classroom data collection phase of the ethnographic study. However, the position of ethnographer only begins with the collection phase. Maintaining the insider perspective continues throughout the analysis phase, and these questions as an overarching framework guide the analyst in the interpretation of the data that are constructed.

From the initial reading of the community essays, I examined the pronominal referents to see who was being referenced as the actors in the essay. From my insider role as ethnographer, I knew that these essays had been written in particular about the Tower Community, from the point of view of the members. The fact that Areli's essay had been such a telling case (Mitchell, 1984) of individual within the collective, and that her pronominal referents were one of the prominent features of her

essay, led me to another question: was this phenomenon of identity as community membership specific to her situation of being a returning student? One way to ascertain this was to see how others described themselves in terms of the community. This question prompted an analysis in which I read through the essays again, including Areli's essay, line by line, to construct a set of descriptors of the community being inscribed in the artifacts. I accomplished this task with a colleague who was not familiar with the data set as a form of analytic triangulation as discussed in Chapter 3.

Essay Themes

Utilizing descriptors of the Tower Community from the essays as category headings, my colleague and I charted their usage across all of the community essays for this year⁷. Table 6. 1 is a chart representing the most frequently cited descriptors mentioned by students in the essays, from the highest use to the lowest. Table 6. 1 represents the first level of analysis on the essays (see also Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group et al., 1995, for a similar analysis of essays important from other years) in order to produce an overall sense of what was

⁷ There were 22 Community essays included in the data set. Three essays that were published in the class yearbook were written about the Tolerance Project rather than the Tower Community.

deemed enough by the students to write about in describing their classroom community to outsiders.

Across the essays in general, taking action and telling how they work as a community were important considerations to most of the members. The most common reference (86%) was to the identification of the Tower classroom and members of the classroom as a *community*. Their claim of *learning* (82%) in this community was the second most utilized element of the essays. These two elements were key to the nature of the assignment: to describe membership in the community to outsiders, and to talk about the ways in which they learn in the Tower that are different from other classrooms or communities.

The next element in the frequency distribution chart was either a specific reference to their jointly constructed community contract, the *Bill of Rights and Responsibilities*, or reference to the notions of *rights*, *respect*, and/or *responsibility*, (82%) which are core elements of that contract, and of their community (c.f., Jennings, 1996 for a detailed look at how these constructs were shaped in another fifth grade bilingual classroom at the same school). Taking a portion of their learning from this year with them as *future action* when they move from this community

I chose to remove these from the analysis since they did not directly address the issues of being members of the community.

Table 6. 1

Distribution of essay themes across the whole group

sis	dom	Tw	learn	3 r's	future	help	share	ideas	group	work	other	caring/ friends	projs	tolran	roles	listen	shoes	hmnw	inq	speak	total
		Com'y			action						com'y						w/talk		inv	up	
ea	S	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1	1		1	1	13 76%
jm	E	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1		1	13 76%
gl	B	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1		1		1		11 65%
agl	B	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1				11 65%
ag	B	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1			1			1		1	1	9 53%
mr	E	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1			1	1			9 53%
lr	B	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1				1			9 53%
ab	S			1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1			1	1		1	1		10 59%
fyc	B	1	1	1			1	1	1	1		1			1	1		1	1		8 47%
cc	B	1	1	1	1	1			1	1	1					1		1			7 41%
eb	E	1	1		1		1	1	1	1			1	1		1	1				7 41%
mz	S	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1			1		1			1			7 41%
ns	B	1		1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1							1	8 47%
om	S	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1				1		1				7 41%
tp	P	1	1		1	1					1		1	1					1		6 35%
eg	S		1	1	1	1					1	1	1	1							7 41%
rm	B	1	1	1		1	1	1				1				1		1			6 35%
ec	B	1	1	1									1	1	1		1			1	5 29%
fc	S	1	1		1	1						1	1	1							5 29%
la	S		1	1	1						1				1	1		1			6 35%
em	S	1			1						1				1	1					5 29%
mf	S	1	1					1				1	1		1						5 29%
total		19	19	18	16	15	15	15	12	12	12	12	11	11	11	11	10	9	8	7	5
N=22		86%	86%	82%	73%	68%	68%	68%	55%	55%	55%	55%	50%	50%	50%	45%	41%	36%	32%	23%	

(73%) was also a common theme. In discussing their notion of community, the actions they most referred to were *helping* each other (68%), *sharing ideas* (68%), *working in groups* (55%), *caring* for others (55%), and being members of *other communities* (55%).

In reflecting upon what kind of work that they do in the Tower Community, students mentioned doing *projects* (50%), learning about *tolerance and intolerance* (50%) by taking up different *roles* such as student, teacher, ethnographer, mathematician, etc. (50%). They also mentioned *listening* to their teacher and to each other (45%) as an element of their community. Two elements that I chose to collapse into one category because of their proximity in meaning were *walking in others' shoes* in order to take up their point of view and *walking the talk*, which refers to doing what you say that you will do (57%). The less frequently mentioned elements were: turning in their *homework* (36%), conducting *investigations* or *asking questions* (as one category, 23%), and *speaking up* or *standing up* for someone (23%).

Looking at the distribution of elements is only one level of analysis that provides a general idea of what was central to learning in this community since the students made choices (Ivanic, 1994) of what to write about in terms of their relationship to the community as a whole.

However, a second level of analysis resulted in a different type of clustering of the themes. After rereading the essays again for a sense of *how they addressed these themes*, I charted the same themes by two categories and by table groups (T1-T5) as shown and discussed in the next section.

Essay Themes Within Table Groups

In this section I illustrate how the themes inscribed by students about their community were distributed among and across members of table groups. These particular table groups had been formed on the first day of the second semester, and were in effect until the beginning of May when the group membership shifted in accordance with the formulation of groups for the Americana Museum project Table 6. 5 and Table 6. 6 together depict of the distribution of essay themes by table group.

This secondary analysis of prior data brings another level of understanding both the level of community as well as individual take up of the themes. First I grouped the themes into two major categories: (1) what they do in the Tower Community (practices), and (2) how they carry out the practices. Looking across this charting of the themes in terms of table groups, I first charted the number of constructs that each person in

the table group mentioned in their own essays, subtotaling each major category, and figuring a grand total for each personal use of the elements as a percentage of all the elements possible to inscribe. I did the same by table group so that I could also have a table group total of elements for a point of comparison both within and across table groups, as illustrated. This allowed me to make visible the range of elements that were mentioned across each table group and the total number of elements that occurred by table.

I need to reiterate at this point that the essays were written as homework, not during class time, so the table group did not act as direct contributor to the personal take up of the individuals there. However, based on the notion articulated in Chapter 2, that members share a particular interactional and intersubjective space in which they negotiate meaning together, I argue that the table groups would be even more likely to share constructs since they work together on a daily basis within and across their table grouping.

Table 6. 2
Distribution of themes by the table groups

	tp	jm	ec	fyc	T1	gl	em	la	cc	ea	T2	ns	ab	eg	lr	T3
What they do																
Learning	1	1	1	1	4	1		1	1	1	4			1	1	2
Bill of R & R		1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	4
Future Actions	1	1			2	1	1	1	1	1	5		1	1	1	3
Tolerant Actions	1	1	1		3	1			1		2			1	1	2
Projects	1	1			2	1					1	1		1	1	3
Homework		1		1	2			1	1		2		1		1	2
Investigate		1		1	2			1	1		2		1		1	2
Subtotal	4	7	3	4	18	5	2	5	6	3	21	2	4	5	7	18
How they do it																
Belonging to Tower	1	1	1	1	4	1	1		1	1	4	1			1	2
Helping	1	1			2	1			1	1	3	1	1	1	1	4
Sharing Ideas/Evid		1		1	2	1				1	2	1	1		1	3
Working in Groups		1		1	2	1			1	1	3	1	1			2
Caring/Friends		1		1	2	1				1	2	1	1	1	1	4
Belonging to Other	1	1			2		1	1	1	1	4	1		1	1	3
Take Various Roles			1	1	2	1	1	1		1	4		1			1
Listening		1		1	2		1	1	1	1	4		1			1
Walk Talk/in Shoes		1	1		2	1				1	2					0
Speak/Stand Up		1	1		2					1	1	1				1
Subtotal	3	9	4	6	22	7	4	3	5	10	29	7	6	3	5	21
Total	7	16	7	10	40	12	6	8	11	13	50	9	10	8	12	39
% of constructs/st	41%	94%	41%	59%	10	71%	35%	47%	65%	76%	10	53%	59%	47%	71%	10
	mean					mean					mean					

Table 6. 3
Distribution of themes by the table groups

	mz	mr	ag	fc	mf	T4	eb	rm	om	agl	T5	N=22	
What they do													
Learning	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	4	9	41%
Bill of R & R	1	1	1			3		1	1	1	3	6	27%
Future Actions		1	1	1		3	1		1	1	3	6	27%
Tolerant Actions		1	1	1		3	1			1	2	5	23%
Projects	1	1		1	1	4	1				1	5	23%
Homework	1	1				2					0	2	9%
Investigate	1	1				2					0	2	9%
Subtotal	5	7	4	4	2	22	4	2	3	4	13		
How they do it													
Belonging to Tower	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	4	9	41%
Helping	1	1		1		3		1	1	1	3	6	27%
Sharing Ideas/Evid	1	1	1		1	4	1	1	1	1	4	8	36%
Working in Groups	1	1	1			3	1			1	2	5	23%
Caring/Friends				1	1	2		1		1	2	4	18%
Belonging to Other			1			1			1	1	2	3	14%
Take Various Roles	1				1	2			1	1	2	4	18%
Listening						0	1	1		1	3	3	14%
Walk Talk/in Shoes		1	1			2	1		1	1	3	5	23%
Speak/Stand Up			1			1					0	1	5%
Subtotal	5	5	6	3	4	23	5	5	6	9	25		
Total	10	12	10	7	6	45	9	7	9	13	38		
% of constructs/st	59%	71%	59%	41%	35%	9	53%	41%	53%	76%	10		
						mean					mean		

Table 6. 4
Distribution of elements of community within table groups

Table group	range of elements	individual distribution of elements	total number of elements per group	mean per table group
T1	8	7, 7, 10, 15	39	10
T2	7	6, 8, 11, 12, 13	50	10
T3	4	8, 9, 10, 12	39	10
T4	6	6, 7, 10, 10, 12	45	9
T5	6	7, 9, 9, 13	38	10

In the community essays, the range in personal take-up of the elements within the table groups varies somewhat. For example table group one (T1) shows a range of 8 elements (7, 7, 10, 15), with a total of 39 elements mentioned across the entire table group. In table group 2 (T2), the range was 7 (6, 8, 11, 12, 13), with a table group total of 50. The range for table group 3 (T3) is the least variable with a range of 4 (8, 9, 10, 12) and a total of 39 elements, while table group 4 has a range of 6 (6, 7, 10, 10, 12) and a total number of 45 elements. The last group (T5) shows also range of 6 (7, 9, 9, 13) and a total of 38 elements mentioned in the essays across the entire table group.

These numerical values serve to verify the ethnographic data of the heterogeneity of the table groupings. They also illustrate a balance across the groups. From examination of the field notes, I noted that the teacher purposefully assigned the students to these particular table

groupings (F.N. Jan. 8, 1996). Beth sought to achieve a balance across each group in terms of language use and achievement groupings in order to ensure equity of access for all students in the community. In addition, each table group would have at least one bilingual student to act as facilitator so that everyone in the group would have access to the content through the bilingual discursive practices common to this community (c.f., Fránquiz, 1995 for more information on the use of two languages with this teacher the prior year).

In this analysis, what becomes visible is that there is a consistency across the table groups of mentioning most of the items that can be seen across the whole group. However, there is still individual take-up among the table group members of which items they selected to represent themselves as members of the community. Another interesting aspect is that the frequency of items mentioned reflects the student position within the classroom as a whole. Those who inscribed the most items within each table group were also the students who tended to take leadership roles in the classroom community, both at their table groups and in whole class discussions.

This consistency within and across table groups is another example of how the community functions as a complex collectivity of

personal take up rather than a cluster of small group interactants. By this I mean to say that if the practices in this classroom were mainly individual practices, or table group practices, then I would expect to see similarities within table groups of the constructs that they share in common, but not necessarily across the table groups. However, the notion of collectivity takes groupings beyond separate table groups doing individuated small group tasks, and implies that the commonality extends across table groups to the collective whole as they jointly construct a common language and common knowledge.

In discussing the data analyses in Chapter 4, I made visible how the teacher shapes and formulates the community practice as follows: within and across interactional spaces; through intertextual and intercontextual linkages; in and through both dominant languages in the classroom; while crafting a common language about the community. From this statement we can infer that this formulating and shaping are ways of building a commonality across the classroom community in order to establish an equity of access for all students at all academic and linguistic levels, while still allowing for individual take-up and individual differences. I assert that this is an example of what Vygotsky truly meant

in the description of the zone of proximal development, with teaching and learning in lead of development.

In other words, by grouping the students in table groups of mixed language and academic performance, in an inquiry oriented curriculum, Beth sets up the conditions for interactive problem posing and problem solving with adults and more capable peers that is requisite for equity of access to exist. Because Beth and the students continually link their present work with past contexts and the texts that are read and produced in the classroom in ways that are recognized, acknowledged, and socially significant, the students who may not be the first to recognize and participate in the shared practices are given multiple opportunities to revisit and come to understand the content and the practices that are put in place over time. Thus the intertextual and intercontextual weaving help to build the collective knowledge so that student take-up can occur, even after an absence such as that experienced by Areli.

Bill of Rights and Responsibilities

A third level of analysis of these essays made visible that *what* the collective is doing in the classroom could also be seen as the opportunities for learning (Tuyay et al., 1995b) social and academic

practices that were constructed at the larger group level. For example, 18 of the 22 essays mentioned the Bill of Rights and Responsibilities as a contract that they *constructed together* and choose to *live by*. Therefore it becomes more than a mere document that hangs on the wall; it is a dynamic intertextual and intercontextual relationship, that continues to be invoked throughout their work together. The students remind each other of the contract that they signed if someone is not living up to the contract. Beth reminds them of the contract whenever they discuss problems of relationship together, or whenever they reflect on their own take-up of community.

In her community essay, Jamie explains to an outsider the centrality of this community contract in this way:

We've gotten this community by a contract. That contract is the Bill of Rights and Responsibilities. We put this contract together and signed it. We made the contract by going home and thinking of rights and responsibilities. Then we shared them in class. We picked five rights and five responsibilities and put them together. We signed our contract and swore to live by it for the rest of the year.

In this excerpt from her essay, Jamie makes a claim that the community exists in relation to their actions in constructing and enacting their contract, the Bill of Rights and Responsibilities. She then illustrates

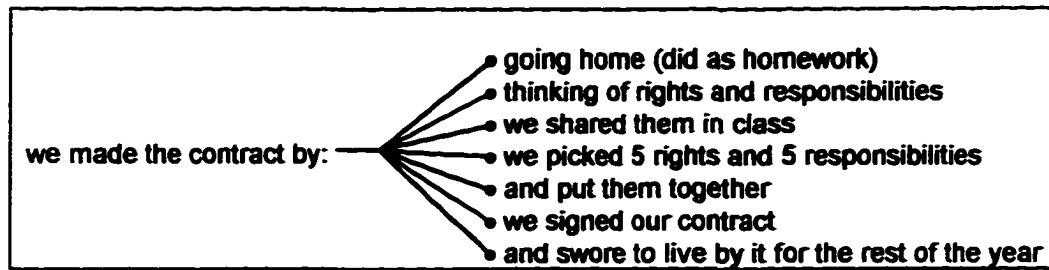


Figure 6. 1. *Taxonomy of constructing the Bill of Rights and Responsibilities*

the process involved in constructing that contract as shown in Figure 6.

1.

After discussion in class during the first week of school, the students were given a homework assignment to think about what they considered to be important rights as students, along with the responsibilities that would accompany those rights. The next day they brainstormed in class what their contract would look like, chose the most significant ones, and wrote them on a poster as a contract. Everyone in the community signed the contract, which was then hung on the wall in a prominent place at the front of the room. Beth then typed up a copy to give to the students to take home to show their parents, who also signed the contract. This contract became the "rules" of the classroom community, which were invoked throughout the year as a reminder of their joint construction and the mutual decision to respect each other's rights and to take responsible actions.

Another example of the reinvoking of the contractual nature of the Bill of Rights and Responsibilities occurred during the beginnings of the Americana Museum Project. After constructing together the categories of research they would conduct for producing potential museum exhibits, the students signed up to participate in groups based upon the work to be done in each category. The table groups were no longer the working groups in which they would continue until the end of the year. The students regrouped themselves according to their interests in the historical research that would culminate in a museum exhibit for the rest of the elementary students to visit.

The student teacher, Elena, instructed them to create their own personal research folder in which they would keep their notes and any articles or information pertaining to their particular topic. Then as a group, they needed to decide how they would be working together to conduct this research and construct their exhibits. To do so, they would first produce a contract that they would sign as their agreement of how they would work together.

Table 6. 5

Formulating the Americana Museum working contract

MU	Speaker's Text in Action Units	Formulating in Interaction Units
001	now another thing is that	transition
002	you guys <i>need to decide</i>	formulating group interactional space, what they <i>need</i> to do as a group
003	how you will work together	
004	you're going to decide as a group	formulating <i>how</i> to come to a decision of group interaction through the Bill of Rights and Responsibilities (points to document)
005	using <i>these ideas</i>	
006	about <i>rights and responsibilities</i>	
007	usando las ideas de	reinvoking in second language the <i>ideas</i> to use
008	<i>responsabilidad y tolerancia</i>	
009	and <i>all the things</i>	tying to constructs they have used across the year to be able to work together as <i>resource</i> for each other
010	we have talked about this year	
011	how to work in a group	
012	and <i>support each other</i>	
013	you need to come up with a <i>contract</i>	<i>result</i> of the group decision reinvoked <i>signing</i> as symbol of agreement as was done in the Bill of Rights and Responsibilities formulating <i>how</i> to go through the process of constructing the contract
014	and this contract	
015	will be something	
016	that <i>you and the group sign</i>	
017	you're going to need a <i>recorder</i>	
018	<i>to write down your ideas</i>	formulating in Spanish <i>purpose</i> of the contract {you are going to remember every day}
019	and then you as a <i>group</i>	
020	<i>will sign at the bottom</i>	
021	and that will be your contract	
022	y cada persona va a tener copia	
023	para su cuaderno	formulating in English the <i>purpose</i> of the contract
024	para que	
025	va a <i>recordar cada día</i>	
026	this is so that	
027	it's a <i>daily reminder</i>	
028	of how you <i>agreed</i>	
029	you were gonna work together	

As Elena provided direction and formulated the notion of producing a working group contract, she invoked the Bill of Rights and Responsibilities as a model, both in format and content, for the contract that they would be constructing together. The following transcript (see

Table 6. 6

Formulating A Contract For The Americana Museum

MU	Speaker's Text Action Units	Formulating in Interaction Units
041	<i>we the members of our group</i>	negotiating group identity
042	<i>agree to plan</i>	producing an <i>explicit example of how to start the negotiating of the contract</i>
043	<i>and work on</i>	
044	<i>our museum project together</i>	
045	<i>in the following ways</i>	
046	<i>so you</i>	handing over the task of generating the ideas of how to work in group together
047	<i>are the ones</i>	
048	<i>that need to come up with 5 ideas</i>	
049	<i>and you need to agree as a group</i>	reiterating that group task requires agreement on the ideas purpose of the contractual ideas is to give a framing to the group interactions and reinvoking the pledge of the contract to work together
050	<i>on those ideas</i>	
051	<i>about the ways</i>	
052	<i>you will be working as a group</i>	
053	<i>and ensure that you will work</i>	
054	<i>as a group</i>	

Table 6. 6) illustrates the student teacher's formulation of the Americana Museum contract to initiate the work in groups to construct them.

Elena begins this sequence of talk by formulating what will be required of the groups in order to complete their work on the Americana Museum. These working groups were newly constructed, and even though these students have been together in community for most of the year, they will be experiencing a reformulation of groupings that will require negotiation on their part to begin to work effectively together. As noted by Floriani (1993), this changing of working groups also produces a change in the working relationships that have to be recognized and negotiated for the groups to work together effectively. In their interactions together, members of a table group have "opportunities to generate

common ways of working on task(s) and common meanings for the data and evidence across all events....” (p. 261).

By invoking the prior context of the construction of the Bill of Rights and Responsibilities (lines 004-012), Elena establishes the expectations that the groups will each construct together common ways of orienting to the work that they will do in preparing their exhibits. These common ways are to ensure responsible and tolerant actions toward each other, and supportive of each other as they have done throughout the year. The requirement to sign the contract (lines 013-016) is also one that refers back the Bill of Rights and Responsibilities, which was signed by every member of the community.

After establishing her expectations of their negotiation of the contract, Elena then formulates how they can begin to produce the contract (lines 017-021), and that they should refer to it in the future (lines 022-029) as they begin working each day so that they can remember what they agreed to do as a group together. She reminds them that after writing the contract they still have to brainstorm ideas for how to carry out the theme of the museum that brought each group together, and to negotiate in the group who would do what work according to their interest in the topic.

Elena goes beyond the intercontextual referencing of the Bill of Rights and Responsibilities to give an explicit example of what the contract should consist of:

In the first interaction unit above (lines 41-45) Elena models a potential beginning for their contracts so that they can list the 5 ways in which they plan to work together, based upon respect and responsibility to each other. She then hands over (Edwards & Mercer, 1987) the construction of the contracts to the groups (lines 46-52) as she instructs them to “come up with” and “agree as a group” on the ways in which they will be working as a group. She then reminds them of the nature of the contract they will be signing, to ensure that they *will* work together as a group.

Other opportunities for learning exist in the working on projects, learning about tolerance and intolerance, doing homework and investigations. All of these examples are ways that the groups work in relationship with each other as a community. The notion of taking action in the future extends the concept of community beyond the classroom walls, to the next community relationship in which these fifth graders will find themselves since they all move on to another school when they enter

sixth grade. The students articulate which practices from the Tower Community they value enough to take with them to another school to make the transition into the next institutional setting a manageable one for them.

*Illustrative Cases Drawn From
Community Essays*

If we view classrooms as acting as cultures, as discussed in Chapter 2, then the practices in which members engage over time become ordinary to the members, unless those practices are made visible in some way. In addition, many classroom practices are not made explicit by teachers in the day to day interactions, and the assumption is that students will implicitly learn what it means to become a mathematician, for example, by the time they are in upper grades. By making visible the actions that they take during a math investigation, and asking them to take notes and make interpretations about those notes, Beth works with the students to make explicit what it means to take action as a mathematician, and what it means to become a problem poser as well as a problem solver.

Through the community essays we see what it is that students chose to inscribe about their world of the Tower Community. From textual

analyses completed by other researchers on essays from prior years (Floriani & Putney, forthcoming; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group et al., 1995) we know that the thematic composition of the essays has changed across the years, based upon what particular focus constructed by community members throughout the year. If we look back to prior years, the essays focused on such topics as: working together and being friends (1991-92), articulation of the work they did in projects (1992-93), and language of the community in the third year (1993-94) when they had a third language introduced into the community through a Vietnamese student, Truc. The year of this study, (1995-96), the main focus was on Taking Action, which was noted by the teacher, Beth, when she wrote her Community Essay as follows:

When I think about our community of learners this year in the Tower, I think about the word action. This community we've made is a community of doers. What is interesting to me this year is what kinds of thing different members decide to take up and do and what kinds of things other members decide not to do. I think that's important for all of us to understand, no matter what community we belong to - and we're going to belong to lots of them!... Each year the members of the Tower community are different and this is one example.

Beyond the first set of analyses done on the essays as a whole, I also selected a sampling of essays from students whose work most

represented the themes across the whole class. These particular students were also the most outspoken of their table group, and they represent a sampling of the language dominance: English, Spanish, and Bilingual. In reviewing these particular essays, I looked for what was common and also what was unique about the ways in which they wrote about the community.

While at first these essays appear to address common elements, the extent to which they wrote about the particular elements, and the emphasis they put on those they invoked were very different. In the following section I will show the major emphases across the essays, and also show excerpts of similar topics taken from other student essays. Because of the way they wrote about their community, I ascertained that it was not easy to choose one element taken up per essay. Rather, given the recursive nature of the assignment, to reflect upon what makes the Tower classroom a community, I constructed a woven logic from these illustrative essays, along with excerpts from the others. The excerpt themes, then, flow as follows: from Taking Tolerant Actions and ⇒ Working Together In Groups ⇒ as Members Of The Tower Community to claiming ⇒ Membership In Other Communities.

Taking Tolerant Actions

Earlier through an excerpt from Jamie's essay, I illustrated how she described the Bill of Rights and Responsibilities in terms of the process they went through to construct and sign the contract. She has a similar description of the cultural practices common to this community, which she describes as *the actions we take* as shown in Figure 6. 2. This excerpt from Jamie's essay shows a range of personal actions taken up by community members that were also expressed in many of the other essays. She talks about taking "tolerant actions", and then gives evidence of her claim by listing what those actions consist of (e.g., listening to the teachers, being nice to each other, and not laughing at each other).

Another student, Ana María, explicitly includes the teacher in her take-up of listening. Her claim is that "Nosotros tenemos responsabilidades en la comunidad de la Torre...nosotros ponemos atención a la maestra y tambien ella pone atención en nosotros (We have responsibilities in the Tower Community....we pay attention to the teacher and also she pays attention to us)." Thus the responsible action of listening extends beyond the students to be inclusive of the teacher as part of the community.

Table 6. 7
Themes from illustrative essays

	jm-E	mr-E	gl-B	ea-S	lr-B	agl-B
WHAT THEY DO						
Bill of R/R	x	x	x	x	x	x
Learning	x	x	x	x	x	x
Taking Future Action	x	x	x	x	x	x
Tolerant Actions	x	x	x		x	x
Projects/Field Trips	x	x	x		x	
Homework	x	x			x	
Investigate/Inquire	x	x			x	
HOW THEY DO IT						
Belonging to Tower	x	x	x	x	x	x
Helping	x	x	x	x	x	x
Sharing ideas/evid	x	x	x	x	x	x
Working in groups	x	x	x	x	x	x
Caring/Being friends	x		x	x	x	x
Other Community	x		x	x		x
Take various roles	x	x	x	x		x
Listening	x			x		x
Walk Talk/Other's Shoe	x			x		x
Speak/Stand up				x		

Tolerant actions are also what Jamie expects to take with her to the next grade when she enters middle school, and even though "it's hard to walk the talk" or "take action," she recognizes that she can develop "a habit to take tolerant actions." In this segment Jamie reflects some of the difficulties that students have throughout the year of following their own community rules (Bill of Rights and Responsibilities). Taking tolerant actions is not always as easy as it sounds and she recognizes that they may not always do so, but that they can get better at taking action by practicing them. This notion of the difficulty in always taking tolerant actions is echoed by Mariko in her essay when she claims

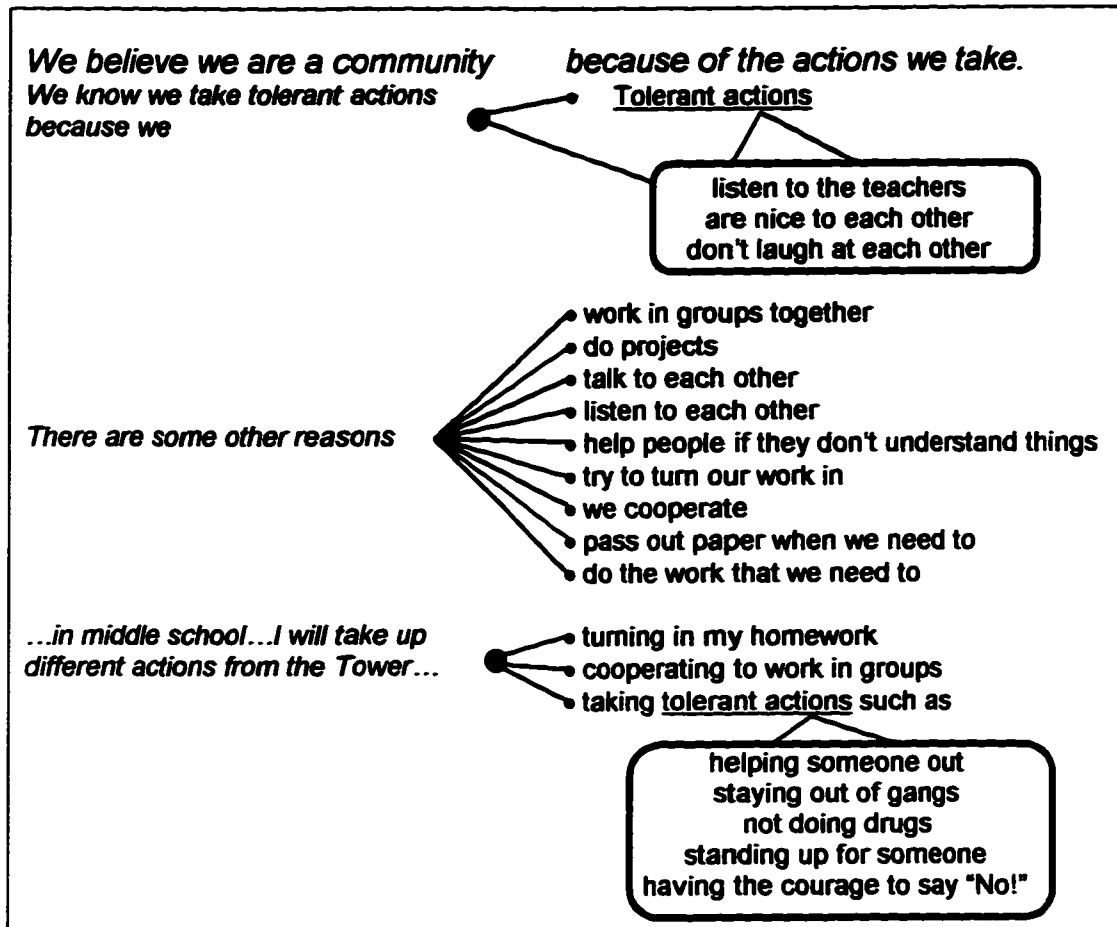


Figure 6. 2. Excerpt from Jamie's community essay showing actions they take

at the end of her essay: "I don't always use tolerant actions, but when I do, it comes from this year and learning about being tolerant in a community." In making this claim, Mariko suggests that the learning of tolerant actions is directly related to being in the Tower Community. We will hear from Mariko again in her description of actions related to working together in the community in the next illustrative case.

Working Together In Groups

In this illustrative essay, Mariko notes that their classroom is a community “because of what we do and how we do things.” Her evidence for this claim is:

We always work in groups or with a partner. Every project or something we do in class, I’ve had a partner or a group. It’s not always easy, though. We have to cooperate with each other and totally work together.

So for Mariko, working together is a major element of life in the classroom, since they do so on every project. Working together in this community goes beyond projects as Mariko tells us; it extends into whatever they do in class. Even though they work together, she also allows that it is “not always easy” to do so. She claims that they have rights and responsibilities, which *must* be followed in order for them to be a community because if they did not have the contract, “we wouldn’t be able to work together.”

Ana María focuses on how they work together when she says “Nosotros compartemos en grupos (We share in groups). Nosotros los ayudamos a las personas de nuestra clase (We help the people in our class).” She also gives examples of how they work together when she says that “cuando nos juntamos en grupo, compartemos las cosas y

nuestros pensamientos (when we work together in group, we share our things and our thoughts).” In her essay, Ana relates that they share in groups, and they help each other. What they share are the *things* that they use in the classroom (e.g., pencils, pens, paper, books, rulers) as well as sharing their thoughts with each other.

Working together was a focus for Elijah when he noted that he “learned to live in a community by working with other people in a group; like listening to others and letting other people give their ideas”....Elijah’s words bring us to the realization that it takes work to live in a community as he had to learn how to work with others and to accept that not everyone will always “do the right thing.” Working together involves listening to others and letting them give their ideas. In using the words “give their ideas” Elijah allows that he might not necessarily take those ideas to utilize in his own work, but that he still should listen to the speaker. Elijah also moves us toward the next element of the essays, that of community membership.

Membership In The Tower Community

Elijah illustrated what it meant to listen and work together, but he also claims that another part of being in the community means “not

freaking out when somebody messes up or does something wrong....” In this way he lets us know that the fact that someone does something wrong does not remove them from the group or from the community. Lalo also brings forward this notion of belonging to the community, even when there is a problem, when he states that there are times when

you think that you are not in the community, because you broke a rule of something else. But you are still part of the community. Maybe you feel like you’re not, because you chose not to do what the community agreed to, but that is your choice. You’re still in the community.

Lalo also illustrates the agency of individuals within the community to take up, or not, the rules of the community. Even if they do not follow all the rules, they are still part of the community and that choice is part of life within a community relationship. Membership in the community is also an ongoing building and rebuilding of relationship between members. The concept of constructing a community is an ongoing process throughout the year, not just an activity that is done at the beginning of school.

This recognition that community is not something that one automatically achieves by being in the classroom is one that Eric takes up in his essay, in regards to how they work together. He notes that “a veces todos estén de acuerdo... no siempre, pero si algunas veces.

(sometimes we would all agree...not always, but sometimes)". When they do not agree, Eric says that they "tratan de caminar en los zapatos de la otra persona (try to walk in the other person's shoes)." Another way of approaching this notion of working toward getting along is brought forward by Lalo when he claims that "one of the things that I think is special is that we all sit down in a circle and talk about our problems."

In these cases the students make visible that working together is a complex phenomenon of building relationships with each other by trying to understand the other person's point of view when they do not agree. The expectations are not that they have to believe the same things, but that in constructing common knowledge together they have to come to some sort of shared understanding. That shared understanding goes beyond just talking in groups, but also learning to take up another point of view so that they can act responsibly toward each other.

One way in which they should act responsibly is to help the transition of a new student to the community. Eric says that

tambien sabemos que cuando algun estudiante entra y es nuevo, tenemos la responsabilidad, los estudiantes igual que la maestra, de compartir cosas que para él/ella son nuevo y de enseñar el cartel de derechos y responsabilidades para que aprenda las reglas de la Torre

(also we know that when some new student enters we have the responsibility, the students as well as the teacher, to

share things that are new to him/her, and to teach the Bill of Rights and Responsibilities so that he/she can learn the rules of the Tower Community)

José Ramon gives a specific example of a new student trying to do math without the help of the others to show how they do math in their Community. In talking about a new student entering, he says that

If we do math that is fun, he will want to work on that too, but if he doesn't know what it is about or what we're doing, he will not be able to do it. So that's why we have to show what we do and show our evidence.

A student who entered the Tower Community in the middle of a math project, Tiago was the only speaker of Portuguese in the Tower Community. When he came into the community in the middle of October, they were already well into the Spaghetti Dinner Project. Even though he was not part of the project from the beginning, he makes the claim that he learned from being in the community: "I wasn't here. I came late so I didn't do everything. But when I did come, I did many hard jobs. I learned everything with the help of everyone in the class."

Sharing ideas and helping each other were integral parts of this community as shown by Griselda when she notes that

Sometimes we are sharing ideas; for example, if you go in the room, you could see students saying what the teacher is asking and then saying the ideas we have about it... Some of the other things that make us a community are that we help each other and we learn from each other,

because if you finish and people don't understand something, you could go over and help and they could learn some from you what they don't understand.

Fanny also writes that they have a community because "the teacher and the students work and give ideas and make the community together." She also shows the idea that the community is not a given, but that the members construct it together. In her own essay on the community, the teacher, Beth, summed up how the students helped each other as follows:

When I think of action, I especially think about the way members really helped each other this year - and that wasn't easy for some of us at the beginning of the year. We've all noticed the changes over time, though. I observed so many people just jumping in and helping a friend during the Americana Museum Investigation.

Membership In Communities

Aside from membership in the Tower Community, some of the students recognized that they belonged to other communities as well. The focus of Lalo's essay relates his classroom community to his family community. He also recognizes that not all communities are necessarily good ones. For example, he states

...no one can say that they're not in a community. Their family is a community. There's a club that could be a community, too. There's a lot, I mean there's a million communities in the world....I know some communities are

bad. Sometimes you've got to really think about what you are going to get into, because then maybe you cannot get out of it. I know that I am in a good community, because I learn things and I learn about different communities.

Lalo is making visible that we have choices of which communities we wish to be part of, and that just being in community itself may not be a good thing. He recognizes that he will be asked to make choices in his life ahead as he moves to a new school in sixth grade. However, he claims that what he has learned here will help him to make those choices:

I am going to think about me and what I said about different communities, that some are bad and some are good....If I think about this, it will help me think about all the bad things I will do if I get in a gang and all the fun things I will miss out on. This is how I think what I did in the Tower community is going to help me to think.

Here Lalo reflects on how his learning in fifth grade will be useful to him as he continues on in the middle school. Problems with gang activity are well known at the school where he will be going, and the issue of joining gangs has been one focus of the Taking Action project illustrated in Chapter 5. This is an issue that surrounds these students in their day to day lives. They are making connections with what they know to be beyond the classroom walls, a type of intertextuality referred to by Cochran-Smith (1984) as text-to-life connections.

In his essay, Antonio also states what he will take with him from the Tower Community as he ventures into the world of middle school and beyond:

I think that I am going to be tolerant and walk the talk when I leave this community, because in the Tower I learned how to be tolerant and walk the talk and, thanks to Ms. Yeager, I will never forget that, no matter where I am, whether it's in school or outside school or in my house. It can be any place I am.

Antonio takes what he learned about taking tolerant actions beyond the classroom situation and applies it to wherever he might be. Oscar makes a similar claim about what it means to take action outside of the classroom community when he states:

Asi que nosotros tenemos que saber como nos debemos de comportar aquí en la comunidad de la Torre y en todos los lugares en que nosotros estemos, porque en otras partes tambien podemos ayudar a otras personas.

(So we have to know how we should conduct ourselves here in the Tower Community and in all of the places in which we might be, because in other places we should also help other people)

In this excerpt, Oscar takes what he has learned about helping others in this classroom community and is applying it to other people in other places outside of the classroom. His point is that they should learn about what it is they do to build community there so that they can use it elsewhere. Areli has a similar notion in her essay when she says: ... "we

are friends in all the world. We shouldn't be fighting in wars or in the Tower Community...we have to respect each other in the whole world."

Moving students beyond the community of the Tower and recognizing that they are part of larger communities is part of what Beth teaches through the Tolerance Focus. As we saw in Chapter 5 through the Personal Action Project, she ties intertextually and intercontextually what the students will do with what others have done as part of responsible communities. Beth expresses the idea of taking what they have learned about community forward in their lives in her community essay when she states:

the question we have now is whether or not we can live up to all the expectations people have of us as we leave this community to enter and make new ones. I think the members of this community will continue to take positive actions. They may not always be visible, but they're going to be there. I expect us all to be able to "walk the talk" and to walk tall, with pride!

In the final section of this chapter I examine once more the written texts produced by the students. However in this analysis, the written inscription of life in their community becomes a method of triangulating the research premises about classrooms. These premises emanate from the work with teachers and students in classrooms, and are central

tenets of the orienting theoretical framework from which we view classrooms.

*Research Constructs Exemplified
Through Student Essays*

In Chapter 2 as part of the theoretical framework I represented research premises about classrooms, from the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, that are foundational to this study of life in classrooms. Among those premises were the notions that classrooms can be seen as acting as cultures as participants socially construct patterned ways of interacting, perceiving, and believing. Through participating in these ways of being, members of the culture socially construct common knowledge as they interact together. Their interactions consist of both language use and actions, and together the actions and talk constitute a discursive system of that classroom. It is through their actions and interactions with texts and with each other, that participants construct both intertextual and intercontextual weavings, which lead to opportunities for learning the academic content and literate practices of the community. These opportunities for learning

are established at the collective level and are available to be taken up in a personal way by individual student members.

In addition I related these premises to a Vygotskian perspective on teaching and learning to make visible the notion of an active zone of proximal development taking place in the interactional spaces established in and through the discursive system. That as students and teachers interact within and across whole class, partner and in table group configurations, they construct meanings together and create a common discourse in the intersubjective space that the classroom itself becomes.

Earlier in this chapter, I illustrated through various analyses how the students in the community inscribed their classroom life through their community essays. What became apparent through the analysis of the illustrative essays was that the statements they made about their community became a sort of template on which I could map the research constructs. Thus the premises about classrooms could then be illustrated through the student essays. In Table 6. 8 I have shown which essays from the illustrative cases coincide with which of the premises. The “x” indicates that a construct is apparent, the “√ “ denotes

that a particular construct was best illustrated in the student's essay under which the mark appears. I will examine a sampling of excerpts from those essays as examples of how the students made visible these constructs.

The first set of constructs taken together give a view of how we look at classrooms acting as a culture. In order to understand this issue we must recognize that to view classrooms in this way we take up a situated perspective of classrooms. That is to say that we recognize that what participants in a classroom construct together, and the patterned ways of being members of that community, are taken up in particular ways by those members. For example, each classroom collective constructs a language of the classroom, particular words and phrases and ways of talking about their practice that a common to members, but that might be hard for outsiders to understand. Mariko explains this phenomenon for us when she states,

Table 6. 8

Student essays illustrating constructs

CONSTRUCTS	MR	LR	EA	AG	JM	GL
1. Classrooms as Cultures/Situated Perspective	√	x	x	x		x
• Ways of Being Student/Learner	x	x	√	x	x	√
• Social Construction: Classroom Life	√	√	x	x	x	x
• Social Construction - Knowledge	x	√		x	√	
• Roles and Relationships		x	√	x		√
• Identity - Community	x	x		√	x	
• Identity - Personal		x		√	x	
2. Intertextuality (what counts as text)		x	x	x	√	
Intercontextuality (ways of being with text)		x	x	x	√	
3. Opportunities for Learning	x			x	x	√
Opportunities to Learn	x			x	x	√

We have learned about tolerance and all the things we need to know so we can tell other people how to be in our community...we have lots of insider knowledge from being in the community. We share lots of our ideas and insider knowledge with people who only have outsider knowledge.

Although Mariko states that they have insider knowledge of their community, she does not make explicit what that particular knowledge might be. She does state that they learned about tolerance, and an outsider would not understand that they learned about tolerance in the context of a study of the Holocaust, and then applied what they learned to their everyday life as students and community members through their Personal Action project as illustrated in Chapter 5 of this study.

In Griselda's essay we have her evidence of what makes them a community when she states, "that we almost every time try to walk in someone else's shoes. That doesn't mean we get their shoes and put

them on.” Here she explains to the reader of her essay, an outsider who might not have insider knowledge of her community, what it means to “walk in someone else’s shoes,” so that we know they are not being literal when they use that expression. This is also an example of how a particular language of the classroom is constructed, which was illustrated in Chapter 4.

She next explains how they might come to understand what the expression means through an activity such as “we might choose a person from the past and by looking at them and being in their shoes, we can tell how they felt and what they were thinking and also their point of view.” This is an example of activities that they did throughout their classroom experience. For example, in one of their homework assignments, they were take up the point of view of a character, Matt, from the novel Sign of the Beaver and write a letter to his pa telling him of how he had changed over time since his pa had been away. They also took up point of view from someone in the past when they read biographies and constructed a biographical exhibit of the person they selected to study. In the Tolerance Focus they took up point of view of a character from Lois Lowry’s Number The Stars, and kept a diary

throughout the reading of the book as if they were the character in the book.

Griselda also recognizes that taking point of view from someone in the past is only one example of “walking in someone else’s shoes” and she applies what she learned about this concept to other situations when she states, “You could also get in someone else’s shoes if they’re not in the past. You could do it with someone at school or in your family.” She also notes that this is the concept that she will take with her when she leaves this particular community.

Another point that Griselda makes in her essay, which is part of our premises about viewing classrooms as a culture, is their Ways of Being Students and the roles that they take up within a particular community. For example, she states that their community is a little different because “we, the kids in the Tower, mostly are ethnographers and mathematicians, too...” She tell us that we would know that they are taking up these roles if we were to visit the classroom because an outsider “would see observing people taking notes and taking pictures (as ethnographers). Also we would probably be doing an investigation like the Spaghetti Dinner (as mathematicians).”

Eric also describes particular ways of being students in this community when he claims that “...en la Torre trabajamos en grupos (in the Tower we work in groups)” He also notes that “...la comunidad hace preguntas (the community asks questions) He also illustrates that the teacher and student roles are not always differentiated and that the relationships they establish are mutual. Eric says that he knows that

cuando suena la campana, tenemos que dejar todo y escuchar a la maestra, que cuando la maestra o un estudiante está hablando, tenemos la responsabilidad de ponerle atención a lo que dice a los demás alumnos

(when the chime rings, we have to stop everything and listen to the teacher, that when the teacher or a student is talking, we have the responsibility of paying attention to what is said to the rest of the students)

Areli expresses a similar notion about the roles and relationships in terms of the Bill of Rights and Responsibilities when she writes that

we listen to the teacher every day. We try to learn more each day and we do. One thing that we agree on was that we have the right to study and learn. We have the responsibility to let other people learn without bothering them.

The students also recognize that their work is not of an individual alone, but that they socially construct knowledge as they interact in their

classroom community. For example, Lalo claims that “we make a community by what we do” and to give evidence he states that

we made the Bill of Rights and Responsibilities. That is one thing that makes us a community. We all try to get along. We always do everything together, like doing homework, reports, and sometimes even field trips.

The construction of the Bill of Rights and Responsibilities was noted by Areli in her essay also. Not only does she state that they made it together, but they also “agreed to live by it.” In examining her essay in relation to the others, Areli exhibited awareness of most of the major constructs and themes that were mentioned across all of the essays. One can only speculate at this point whether her absence from the community for such a period heightened her awareness of what made their community different from others she had experienced. However, analyses of essays across the entire collective, including Areli, demonstrated that her inscription of community was not an anomaly, but was also representative of the collective.

Summary

Having looked at data consisting of student texts from a particular year, I have illustrated a partial sampling of what students

chose to inscribe about life in their classroom community. I have claimed that this inscribing can be seen as the student take-up of the classroom discourse system as constructed by participants through their work together. The students have made claims that their classroom community is different from others in which they have participated. Among those claims are that they: work in table groups together; construct their own texts as resource for later work in the form of Learning Logs; express their own point of view about issues being discussed; provide evidence to support their point of view; respect each other and the language they bring to the classroom; go through the process of doing math rather than just use math functions to get an answer; learn by asking questions and thinking about how they seek answers; share their feeling about what they read; share information with each other; do investigations and projects; and create a common language through their work together.

In this chapter I demonstrated that these students articulated which practices from the Tower Community they valued enough to take with them to another school to make the transition into the next institutional setting a manageable one for them. I also explored the

notion of collectivity, by examining these inscriptions of classroom members. As I showed in these analyses, the notion of collectivity takes groupings beyond separate table groups doing individuated small group tasks, and implies that a commonality of practice extended across small groups to the collective whole as they jointly constructed a common language and common knowledge.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Discussion Of Collective/Personal Development

The work of this dissertation represents the premise that a dialogic relationship exists between collective-personal learning and developing in an inquiry based community of teachers and learners on two levels. First, the phases of this study were multiple, recursive, and consequentially progressive, much like the cycles of activity that I examined in this fifth grade bilingual classroom (ethnographer as learner). Second, the observed experience of Areli, a student who reentered this community of learners, provided an unanticipated, yet important opportunity for examining the relationship of collective and personal learning and development. In this way, I examined the progressive and consequential nature of learning and development as constituted in and through the a dynamic and dialogic cultural practices constructed by members of this local bilingual classroom community (students as learners).

Given the view of learning and developing as a dynamic, recursive, and socially constructed process, I articulated the need for a

research perspective which was multidimensional comprised of the following: (a) a foundational theory of learning and development, (b) a cultural lens for viewing the actions and practices of classroom members from an insider perspective, and (c) an analytic methodology through which the researcher could theoretically sample and analyze textual artifacts from classroom members, and construct representational data to inform others about ways of revisioning classroom practices.

The research framework that I initiated, therefore, was constructed from a social constructionist perspective, building from a Vygotskian (1978; 1986) conceptualization of collective and personal development through his construct of a zone of proximal development. While such a theoretical position on learning and developing informs classroom research, it is not sufficient in and of itself to make visible how the learning takes place. To make visible what constituted the patterned community and disciplinary practices, and how those practices were formulated and reformulated through the discursive system, I needed a perspective that viewed members of a classroom as acting as a local culture (Collins & Green, 1992; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992a; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992b).

The approach selected is Interactional Ethnography, an approach that combines anthropological theory of culture together with interactional sociolinguistics to examine both in-the-moment and over time construction of opportunities for learning and personal take up of such opportunities to learn (Tuyay et al., 1995c).

Through progressive disclosure design in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, I examined how teachers and students weave together a complex and dynamic curriculum of being that is inquiry based. Further, I showed how the construction takes place in and through the intertextual and intercontextual links that the teacher formulates from the first day, and how these links were made explicit by the teacher within and across tied cycles of activity. Further, I explored ways in which disciplinary knowledge was developed with the joint construction and reshaping of the class community. In this study, community building was identified as not occurring only on the first day of school, but also as shaped and reshaped by interactions among class members across the school year.

Additionally, analysis showed that what tied the actions of the members were the patterns of practice that were initiated and made available as cultural resources across activities with the support of a discursive system that is historically evolved. The practices (e.g.,

observing, inquiring, writing and talking from evidence), taken up in one phase of activity were found to be discursively recognized and acknowledged as intertextual and intercontextual in later events. Thus, analysis showed that these practices were brought explicitly into the intersubjective spaces, where members made meaning together, marked them as socially significant (Bloome & Egan Robertson, 1993; Floriani & Putney, forthcoming), and made them available as part of a public text (Kelly, Green, & Crawford, 1996) rather than leaving them at a level for students to induce.

I have shown through analysis of the discursive system that the observed progression of practice and activity was not strictly linear, but one that involved formulating and reformulating of cultural resources over time, as class members were asked to reflect and draw on their actions and interactions with text and with each other in new events and cycles of activity. I also described how this constructed progression of practices and knowledge was consequential in that the practices were intertextually and/or intercontextually linked to the past through the discursive system. Thus the analyses showed that members invoked and constructed a historicity through their practice, and at the same time they were working toward an implicated future practice.

***Consequential Progressions of
Community and Academic
Development***

In a prior study (Putney, 1996), I argued that “by viewing the literate practices constructed within a classroom collective, we can come to understand how the resources of the group become established and utilized over time by individuals as well as by the collective” (p. 130). In that study I examined strategically sampled days of a high school English classroom through two central Vygotskian (1978; 1986) constructs: (a) historicity to show what was socially constructed over time, and (b) intersubjectivity to show what the members came to mean by a “student-centered curriculum.” Although consistent with my prior work, this study of collective and personal development differs and moves beyond the prior work in particular ways. One of those ways is through the illustration of consequential progressions of classroom discursive and cultural practices across the school year.

Through the construct of consequential progressions of activity, I made visible the concurrent nature of the inception and progression of community membership with academic disciplinary content in an inquiry based curriculum. By analyzing how the teacher formulated and reformulated particular discursive practices within and across classroom

activities, I showed how the teacher established opportunities for learning (Tuyay et al., 1995c) and academic content. Figure 7. 1 provides a summary of the Consequential Progressions identified, and the convergence of the community and academic activities associated with particular cycles of activity, which were highlighted in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 of this study.

As indicated in this figure, four major cycles of activity were examined across the school year: (a) first six weeks, (b) the Island History Project, (c) the Tolerance Focus/Taking Action, and (d) the Americana Museum. These cycles of activity illustrate the construct of Consequential Progressions. They are only one representation of the intercontextually and intercontextually tied cycles of activity across the school year, and are not inclusive of all cycles of activity in this classroom. To understand how these cycles tie together I will discuss the information in the summary chart, drawing on constructs and analysis already established in previous chapters.

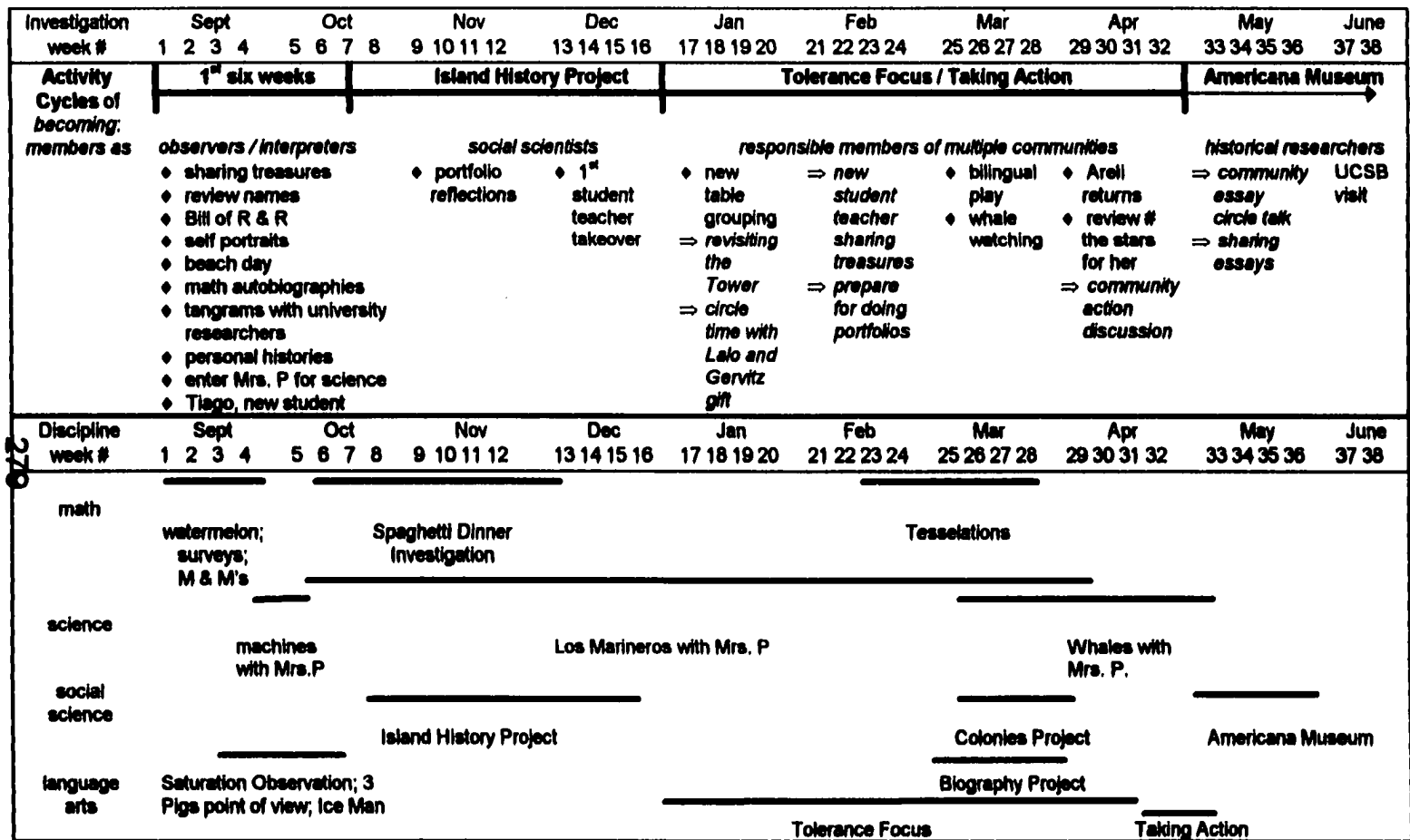


Figure 7. 1. Consequential progressions summary chart

Cycles Of Becoming Tower Community Members

This summary chart depicts what the analysis in Chapter 4 revealed: that in this bilingual fifth grade classroom, constructing community did not just happen on the first day of school, or on occasion with a specific activity (i.e., beach day). Rather, constructing community in this classroom was an ongoing process, which was built and rebuilt over time. This conceptualization of community was also tied to academic work as I showed in Chapter 4. I revisit the notion of community construction here in the summary chart to illustrate what opportunities for learning at both a social and academic level that this teacher made available for students to take up.

For example, in the first cycle of activity, across the first six weeks of school, students were offered the opportunity to actively take up the actions of observers and interpreters, while establishing themselves as community members in the Tower. As I illustrated in Chapter 4, much of the activity during this time had to do with personal identity in relation to the group (e.g., sharing “treasures” or items about themselves that helped others to understand who they were, making self-portraits, and constructing a classroom mosaic of colorful block with their names).

In the first week of school they also constructed their rules to live by, called the Bill of Rights and Responsibilities. As I illustrated through examining the community essays in Chapter 6, this document became more than a set of rules. The contract became part of their construction of community, their ways of being toward each other, and a model of a contract that they used for their work together in their reformulated groupings for the Americana Museum. Thus the practice of working and functioning in particular ways as a community, according to their Bill of Rights and Responsibilities, became socially significant in both their social and academic work throughout the entire year, and was one way of interlacing the ways of being community member with ways of being academic learner.

Island History Cycle Of Activity and Beyond

The work that students did during this first cycle as community members was then used by members in the second cycle, The Island History Project. Analysis in Chapter 4 showed that during the first six weeks the students were learning to work together as table group members, and to negotiate with each other as members to form a community of learners. During the next cycle, the Island History Project, the teacher asked them to expand their community focus to that of a

community of anthropologists and historians. As members of this community they investigated an island culture in pairs, writing a history of the island from evidence, and presenting their findings at the seventh Annual Meeting of Anthropologists and Ethnographers.

In moving into this cycle the teacher had the students utilizing what they learned in the first six weeks in terms of working in community, and then to extend that learning to negotiate a particular kind of academic work in a different working arrangements (e.g., pairs). In this cycle they utilized what they had learned about being community members who observed and interpreted from evidence, and applied this knowledge to being members of a social science community.

In the Tolerance Focus, the members applied what they had learned about taking up another point of view as respectful community members and as social scientists. In their study of the Holocaust, they continually referenced community actions and practices as they read and discussed their work. They compared their community to those that they read and heard about. All of this work was focused toward the teacher's ultimate community goal, of having students working together as responsible members of multiple communities both at school and beyond (Yeager, 1996).

In terms of student take up of constructs from the collective, I provided evidence in the community essays of the students' inscription of their community. The analysis made visible within and across table groups a collective voice was constructed, with individual take-up made visible in their selection of themes to write about. In terms of the zone of proximal development, this cohesiveness of voice across the table groups indicates that the group itself is working within a zone of proximal development. That is, these members made claims about how they interacted, shared, and helped each other in their table groups, by "walking their talk" and "taking tolerant actions" toward each other, thus becoming "more capable others" for the group.

Thus in terms of community development, the constructs of consequentiality and progressions of cycles of activity were applied in terms of what was constructed in and through the collective. In other words, what was constructed by, and then taken up and enacted personally by community members, was shown to have consequences for the entire collective since they were continually constructing cycles of activity in which they were becoming members of multiple communities.

Consequential Progressions Through the Academic Disciplines

In the lower half of the charted cycles (see Figure 7. 1), I represented some of the inquiry based projects that students engaged in during the school year. The purpose of this segment of the figure is to make visible that the processes of inquiry and systematic investigation were not limited to one subject, but were woven together across the disciplines.

Thus a curriculum integration, called a curriculum of being by the teacher, was developed through the patterns of practice and the social and academic processes formulated and reformulated across time and events. As indicated by Figure 7. 1, from the first day of school, the teacher initiated classroom practices that integrated community construction with academic content. As I described in Chapter 4, the teacher began the day with a focus on the community, then introduced a process of inquiry through the academic discipline of math. The process enacted on the first day, and reiterated over the next four days of the Watermelon Problem was consequential to the students' later work on the Spaghetti Dinner. In the first academic subcycle across the first four weeks of school, students constructed a process of math inquiry (see

Table 7. 1), which was then broadened to other types of inquiry across the disciplines.

Thus practices taken up in one cycle of activity through one discipline led and tied to a later cycle. This was not a linear or totally sequential progression. For example, the practice of taking up a different point of view from the Saturation Observation and 3 Pigs cycles under the heading of language arts, became crucial for students to use in order to imagine what

Table 7. 1
Inquiry Within and Across Disciplines

MATH	SOCIAL SCIENCES
(a) ask questions	(a) ask questions
(b) formulate estimates	(b) formulate theories
(c) observe and collect data	(c) observe and collect data
(d) revise estimate based on evidence	(d) reformulate theories based on evidence
(e) compare and contrast data self generated estimates with other estimate with actual changes over time	(e) compare and contrast data self generated theories with other current with historical changes over time

life would have been like, stranded on an island in the Island History Project. During one brainstorming session from the Island History Project, community members generated a set of Cultural Universals stemming from a discussion of what would be needed for a group of ten people to start building a new life on a preciously deserted island. These universals (food, shelter, education, government, art, etc.) became a lens

for looking at history and culture throughout the remainder of the year. Additionally they were used as categories from which students selected topics to research for their Americana Museum exhibits.

The discursive practices and processes of this community were intertextually and intercontextually tied across cycles and disciplines. A consequence of this type of interweaving of practice is that the discursive practices become both cultural resource and mediational tools for students to utilize and add to their repertoires for learning (Kantor et al., 1992).

Implications For Education

So what do the constructs of collective/individual development and consequential progressions help us to understand about teaching and learning, and about the connection between the person and the collective? As I described through the case of Areli, this student was able to slot back into the community and take up the literate practices in spite of the content portion that was enacted while she was gone from the community.

While she missed the construction of particular content, she was present during the first six weeks in which key practices and processes were being talked and acted into being (Green & Dixon, 1993). Thus she

had access to a basic set of inquiry processes and practices before she left the community in November. When she returned in April, she was able to draw on these resources to interpret the visual representations which the other students had constructed from their work in the content areas while she was gone. This work was prominently displayed in the classroom as textual references. Analyses also showed that the teacher signaled recursivity of practice and content. In this way she made practices and content that had been covered previously available to Areli and other students through intertextual and intercontextual references.

Areli also had access to the class discussions and reflections on the literature members were currently reading. The teacher also tied the readings to other resources such as video and film, and in the class discussions they often tied what they were currently doing to what they had done in the past. Because of the intertextual and intercontextual links across the curriculum, Areli had access to the content that had been studied while she was absent, although it was access of a secondary nature. Thus while it was helpful for her to access the content, what was truly salient and socially significant to Areli, as evidenced by her claims in her portfolio reflections, were the projects in which she had participated

from the beginning, such as the Spaghetti Dinner Investigation and the Americana Museum.

The study of Areli's reentry and reestablishing of her membership in the community raised more questions about access of content for all students. While Areli missed a crucial part of the content of the fifth grade curriculum, she was able to participate fully in the final project of the year, the Americana Museum. I contend that this was due in part to her earlier take-up of the practices and processes of inquiry, observing, and taking up point of view. Essential to her take up of these processes and practices were the interactive and interwoven nature of the processes, practices, and content established in the Tower Community. This inquiry based curriculum, consequentially and progressively enacted established particular opportunities for learning academic content through community centered and discursively based actions and practices.

Implications for Classroom Research

In this dissertation I have argued for a theoretical research framework that can be used to explore the nature of collective and individual development in classrooms. If we believe that collective development and individual development are dialectically, historically, and transformatively interdependent, then the approach we use to

research these dynamic and complex processes must be able to capture this interweaving of the collective and the individual within the collective, and explore how each creates and is created by the other.

If we believe that the discursive system is key to learning and development, then the research approach must allow the researcher to document, examine, analyze, and interpret the construction of the classroom discursive system in the moment by moment interactions within and across interactional spaces. Additionally, the discursive system develops within the collective interactional and intersubjective spaces over time, and the research approach must be able to document these over time patterns of academic and social practice and process.

Therefore, the theoretical framework that I constructed in this dissertation was crucial for my inquiry into the relationship of collective and individual development. Through my interpretative use of a sociocultural/historical view of learning and development of a collective, and “mind in society,” combined with Interactional Ethnography equipped me with the instruments and conceptual insight needed to document, analyze, and interpret life in this bilingual classroom community.

I have shown through multiple analyses that this collective development of common knowledge, and common ways of being in

community is interactionally signaled, acknowledged, recognized, and is socially significant to members of the collective. Thus the theoretical construct that I adapted from Durán and expanded significantly, consequential progressions of activity, makes visible the ways in which an inquiry based bilingual classroom becomes a social and cultural resource for students. Through the intertextual and intercontextual weaving of community construction with disciplinary knowledge construction, this teacher made available multiple opportunities for learning academic content and ways of being socially responsible community members.

Questions for Future Research

The construct of consequential progressions of activity, while instrumental to this study, needs to be examined in more detail and across other cases. For example, a need exists to examine the consequences for students in a classroom where community construction and inquiry processes are not made an explicit practice in the everyday lived experience of classroom members. In this dissertation, the issue of language choice among members was not foregrounded as it was beyond the scope of this study.

My purpose in this study regarding language was to examine how the teacher, in purposefully constructing a language of process with her

students, was creating equity of access for all. This advanced a conceptual argument about the opportunities for learning constructed in and through the discursive system (Tuyay et al., 1995c) by examining the consequences of participation for both the individual and collective. With this conceptual argument I can now examine the specific use of two languages to better conceptualize development of bilingual students.

This dissertation also raises questions in terms of absence and reentry of students in an ongoing community of learners. While I have addressed these issues in terms of one student, what can be inferred from her experience in terms of other classroom situations? What are the consequences for individual students, as well as the classroom collective of which they are a part, when students are absent from class, even though they may be spending time in other academic settings? While they may be missing a critical part of the academic content, students who spend time away from the classroom may also be missing a crucial part of participating in the everyday construction of classroom life. At the same time, the collective is missing an integral voice in the joint construction of social and academic content.

The consequences of absentee classroom members have been unexamined for the most part, especially in terms of what part that

absence plays in the relationship of an individual to the classroom collective. The absent student is missing the construction of community practices and the academic content, but the community is missing the potential contribution of the absent member as well.

Issues of Increasing Mobility

This question of the consequences of missing out on time in a classroom situation is also relevant in light of our increasingly mobile society. This question of consequentiality also raises issues of equity of access to academic content for students who do not remain in the same schools, or with the same teachers and peers, over the entire school year. This is especially relevant for children from immigrant and migrant families, such as was the case for Areli. In many schools and for many reasons, students enter after the official beginning of the school year, or exit the school and return at a later date. In other cases, students may leave one school to enter another school because their family has moved from one area to another (Anstrom & Kindler, 1996).

This notion of mobility can also be applied on a more regular basis, and at a more micro level when we consider the issue of pull-out programs. In these programs, particularly in elementary schools, students leave their local classrooms to receive particular course work in

specialize pull-out programs. Students in pull-out programs are there to be given instruction in specific content, designed as support for their learning. Research has shown that pull-out programs are not successful (Allington, 1993; King, 1990, May), yet what is relatively unexamined is what these students are missing from their classroom affiliation, and why leaving their classroom might be consequential for those children.

Concerns From Teachers In The Field

While these questions of mobility and absence from the classroom are being asked as a research issue, I am also addressing a felt need in the field from teachers who are also researchers. In my work in the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group I have had opportunities to work with different teachers on various occasions. A recurring topic among teachers has been the question of interruptions of classroom life, and the consequences these disruptions bring.

One of the teachers has done an informal study in second graders who are being pulled out of the classroom to be placed in special programs throughout the school day. One of these students was being pulled out for three separate sessions, back to back. This raises a question about the consequences for this student of missing so much of the classroom academic content. The teacher's concern was also for the

consequences of the group when pull-out students leave and return from their special program.

In her informal study then, she asked the following questions: (a) how much time does it take for these students to reenter the ongoing stream of life in the classroom, and (b) how much time does it take for the classroom members to resettle into the activity in which they were engaged before the interruption of the students returning to class?

She set out to conduct her research by recording the actual resettling time for each interruption of a student leaving and returning to the classroom. The time she recorded was only a few minutes after each interruption. However, these observations have prompted her to ask another question: what are the effects of seemingly small interruptions on a community of practice when they occur on a day to day basis, and over an extended period of time? This teacher/researcher has uncovered an important educational issue that requires further study.

A similar issue has been raised by the fifth grade bilingual teacher whose classroom is the basis for this study. Because this teacher-researcher has studied her classroom community with prior researchers, she is especially aware of actions of community members. She pointed out to me the consequences for the community of the departure of two

female students early in the school year. Her observations of the changes in the collective voice without the individual voices of those two students helped identify the case study of Areli for this dissertation.

Therefore this dissertation informs teacher practice, research, and policy issues at different levels by examining factors of entry and reentry in the lived experience of one student through the conceptualization of consequential progressions. At the same time, it raises particular questions about consequences for other students who are participating in pull-out programs, or who are entering and reentering a local collective for various reasons. Further, questions can be raised about reentry or reassignment to smaller groupings of students within a classroom setting (e.g., changes in reading groups or cooperative groups). Future study, utilizing the theoretical framework and conceptual model that I have established in this dissertation can examine how best to facilitate student reentry in terms of various settings, and how to identify consequentiality of participation in classroom collective activity and practice.

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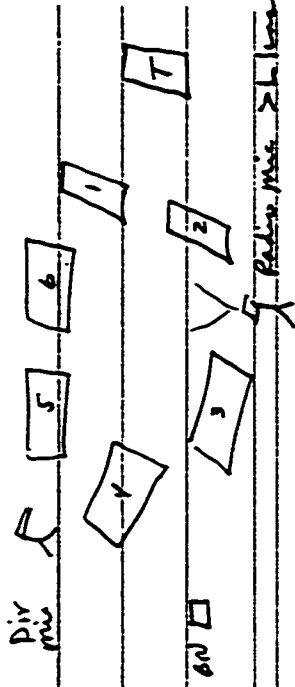
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APPENDIX A

FIELD NOTE SAMPLES

DATE	9/21/75
Beth Saturation	



1 ACTION/TASK 2 Radio Mic > 1 hour

9:25

- 1 Sts have been doing SSR and now putting away
- 2 condense de livres. Getting writer's notebook ready,
- 3 not let legs. Notebooks + 4 pieces of paper
- 4 @ Ok - not discussing how everyone presenting on
- 5 what doing now. Pencil away. Skelly in back
- 6 (on side) @ table. Focus on what we are doing -
- 7 B talking quietly - how student's are, how
- 8 they act. Sts quiet - attention on Beth.
- 9 Conversation to give everyone books can give everyone
- 10 book. Connect what we do this morning w/ what
- 11 we do this afternoon. Info - information?
- 12 Asking about watermelon - how did you obtain info?
- 13

Beth

getting ready

Innovation

:30

14 *Can you even a persona ethnography?*
 15 *I held it*
 16 *Before, what did you do?*
 17 *Look @ it.*
 18 *Tension you miss it. Wrote look at it on board.*
 19 *When historians, etc look - artists scientific mathematics*
 20 *you decides? think.*
 21 *I want what you already know. Connects to this yr's*
 22 *other years when they've had to look @ something.*
 23 *What you call it when in! artists look @ something?*
 24 *Unlabeled: "Que palabra mas para decidir?"*
 25 *- Its hands up (3)*
 26 *(Both trying to connect to other classes*
 27 *observe*
 28 *Eligible ethnographer*
 29 *data - B - data is what you get*
 30 *after you look @ something*

Let me think back

Están pensando en
lo que saben



CAMBRIDGE

9-21-95

9:24 Chime

Sts asked to put everything away
and keep writers' notebooks and pencil
on corner of desks ready to use

9:25 Students don't need any of it yet

9:26 Asking sts to turn around (bodies &
chairs)

Says what they will not be doing
(talking to shells about this)

will put all attention on what doing
Tada vana paper to be in attention.

En español pide a este grupo se
mueran para enfocar en atn.

Says experience over last few days
has told her really need to focus

on what doing

talking about "what a st. looks like"
and "student behavior"

cameras turning
whiteboard pan

9:28 "It's very important that you connect, que conectar to que te has ligado en lo que van hacer, y tambien and it's important besides obviously, the members on 1st day of school, that also did you use to guess the ext. of your watermelon? i came to guess on a *ta primer adivinanza*"
Em Dylles
Cuts on Tanya ("we held it")
"Before you could do that"
st. "looked at it"
by repeats 8 units in board
"and from what already knew
a past experience about artists, &
mathematicians, etc. what road do

APPENDIX B
SAMPLE COMMUNITY ESSAYS

Areli's Community Essay The Tower Community

In the Tower, we have a community. We work all together. We agree on the Bill of Rights that we made and agree to live by it. We listen to the teacher every day. We try to learn more each day and we do. One thing that we agreed on was that we have the right to study and learn. We have the responsibility to let other people learn without bothering them. So we have to respect all of our rights and responsibilities. We have to respect other people. It doesn't matter what color skin they are or which language they speak. We all are human beings and we need to have respect, as we have in our community, the Tower.

I went out of the community in November. I went to visit my Grandfather, because he was going to get an operation for his heart. I felt bad and sad, because I was not going to be in this community during the time I would be gone. I got a chance to see all my other family. I got a chance to see that all the family was o.k. Now that I have come back to the community, I feel happy to be back again.

It felt bad being outside of the community, because I wouldn't be in the community that I was before. I really like the Tower community and I missed my teacher and my friends. I learn in a different way. I learn better in the way that is in the Tower community. I felt happy when I came back, because I could see my teacher and my friends again. I felt kind of strange, too, at first, because I didn't know what was going on. I was surprised that in the time I was gone, a girl named Erika came in. Now I feel good and not strange anymore, because I know what is going on.

In the Tower community, we are all friends. It doesn't matter, like I said, which color skin or which language we speak. We all need to learn that in the future when we are old and teach our children and maybe like a friend's sons and daughters can help someone else who has been your friend. If someone is not your friend now, then that person might tell their children not to help you if you need help. Not only that, but we are friends in all the world. We shouldn't be fighting in wars or in the Tower community. We all are sons of God and we are all brothers. We have to respect each other in the whole world.

When I go to LaCumbre Middle School, I will walk the talk. That's what I've learned in this community. If someone wants to be my friend, I will let them. If they want me to get in gangs or into tagging or not going to school, I won't be their friend. Walk the talk is like some people are telling you to do something and they tell you you're going to get hit by them. I would tell my parents or the principal or a teacher so they can stop them from trying to get kids into gangs or thing they don't want to do.

In our Tower community we share. We need to share now and in the future, too, because if someone beside you is hungry and they don't have anything to eat, you should share some food that you're eating. Then you have saved someone's life. In this community, we share things like pencils, erasers or pens and each time it can get bigger and bigger. It could get so big that, by sharing food and clothes, you have saved 10,000,000 people.

**Jamie's Community Essay
Tower Community**

Welcome to the Tower community. We've gotten this community by a contract. That contract is the Bill of Rights and Responsibilities. We put this contract together and signed it. We made the contract by going home and thinking of rights and responsibilities. Then we shared them in class. We picked five rights and five responsibilities and put them together. We signed our contract and swore to live by it for the rest of the year.

We believe we are a community because of the actions we take. We know we take tolerant actions, because we listen to the teachers, are nice to each other and we don't laugh at each other.

There are some other reasons as well. Sometimes we work in groups together. We do projects, talk to each other and listen to each other. We also help people if they don't understand things. We try to turn our work in. We know this because of our homework records. We also know this because we aren't having a lot of things turned in late.

We cooperate. We know this because we mostly do what we are asked to do. We pass out paper when we need to and do the work that we need to.

I think I will do well in middle school, because I will take up different actions from the Tower, such as turning in my homework and cooperating to work in groups and taking tolerant actions, such as helping someone out when they're in trouble, staying out of gangs, not doing drugs, standing up for someone, having the courage to say "No!" It's hard to walk the talk or take action, but I know if I do it, it will be easier and easier every time I do it and soon it will be a habit to take tolerant actions.

I believe we are a community in the Tower, because we work together and help each other out. This year we've learned to be a community and to have rights, responsibility and respect for other people. I think we were taught to be a community so we will be prepared to be a part of other communities and to live by a contract when we grow up.